

FIFTY CENTS

OCTOBER 18, 1971

THE IMPACT OF PHASE II

TIME

John  
Connally



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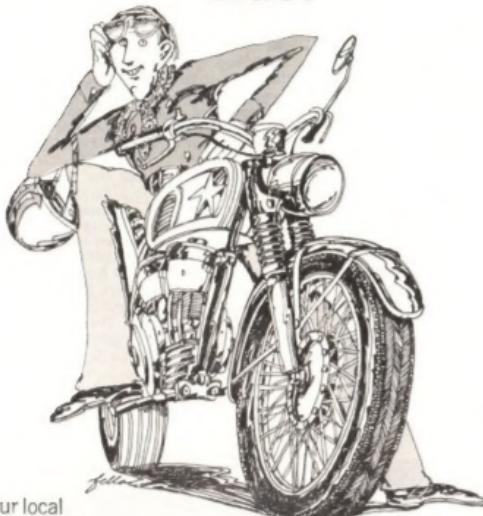


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## True?



Don't look for it at your local cinema. We're being misleading to make a point.

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The Cover: Portrait in inks and dyes by Isadore Seltzer.

sponsibility, with Henry Ford II as the principal speaker. Following a session on Black America featuring Vernon E. Jordan Jr., newly appointed executive director of the Urban League, the travelers were guests of honor at a dinner attended by such notables as Evangelist Billy Graham, Playwright Lillian Hellman, Actress Gloria Swanson, Psychologist B.F. Skinner, Broadway Producer Harold Prince, Columbia University President William McGill, Metropolitan Museum Director Thomas Hoving and chief executives of a number of American companies. The speaker of the evening was Secretary of State William P. Rogers, who answered questions about neo-isolationism in the U.S. and President Nixon's planned visit to Peking.

Accompanied by a Time Inc. contingent that included Editor in Chief Hedley Donovan and Editorial Director Louis Banks, the visitors went next to the serene Dartmouth College campus, which was emblazoned with New Hampshire's brilliant fall foliage. The visitors had two marathon sessions—on the economy with members of TIME's Board of Economists and on the environment with business and government leaders.

The next chapter of Report on America took place in Washington with Time Inc. President James Shepley, who had been a Washington correspondent for eleven years, as a particularly skilled guide. The tour members began by quizzing a trio of possible presidential contenders—Senators Hubert Humphrey, Henry Jackson and Edward Kennedy—on world trade, international cooperation, and global defense. Later, they met with Senate Leaders Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott, then moved off to the Executive Office Building for a brisk, candid exchange with Presidential Advisers Henry Kissinger and Peter Peterson. As the briefings and interviews continued, Sir Eric Drake said wearily: "If this is how Americans always work, you should have no economic problems." Nevertheless, none of the visitors to Washington was willing to drop out.

The climax of the trip came only a few hours before the President's speech. Lunching with John Connally, TIME's cover subject this week, they questioned him about the things that most concern them as European businessmen—the import surcharge, the magnitude of the trade and monetary concessions the U.S. wants from other nations, and the possibility of a change in the price of gold. Additional meetings with Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird and House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills added to the variety of personalities and subject matter. At a dinner with NASA officials, the group met Werner von Braun.

By the time the tour ended, the participants had proven themselves adept at asking the right questions. Said the News Service's Gart: "They have all the makings of first-class correspondents." Joachim Zahn of West Germany remarked: "All of us here are used to giving orders. This week we listened."



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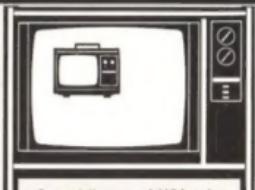
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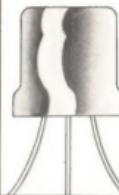
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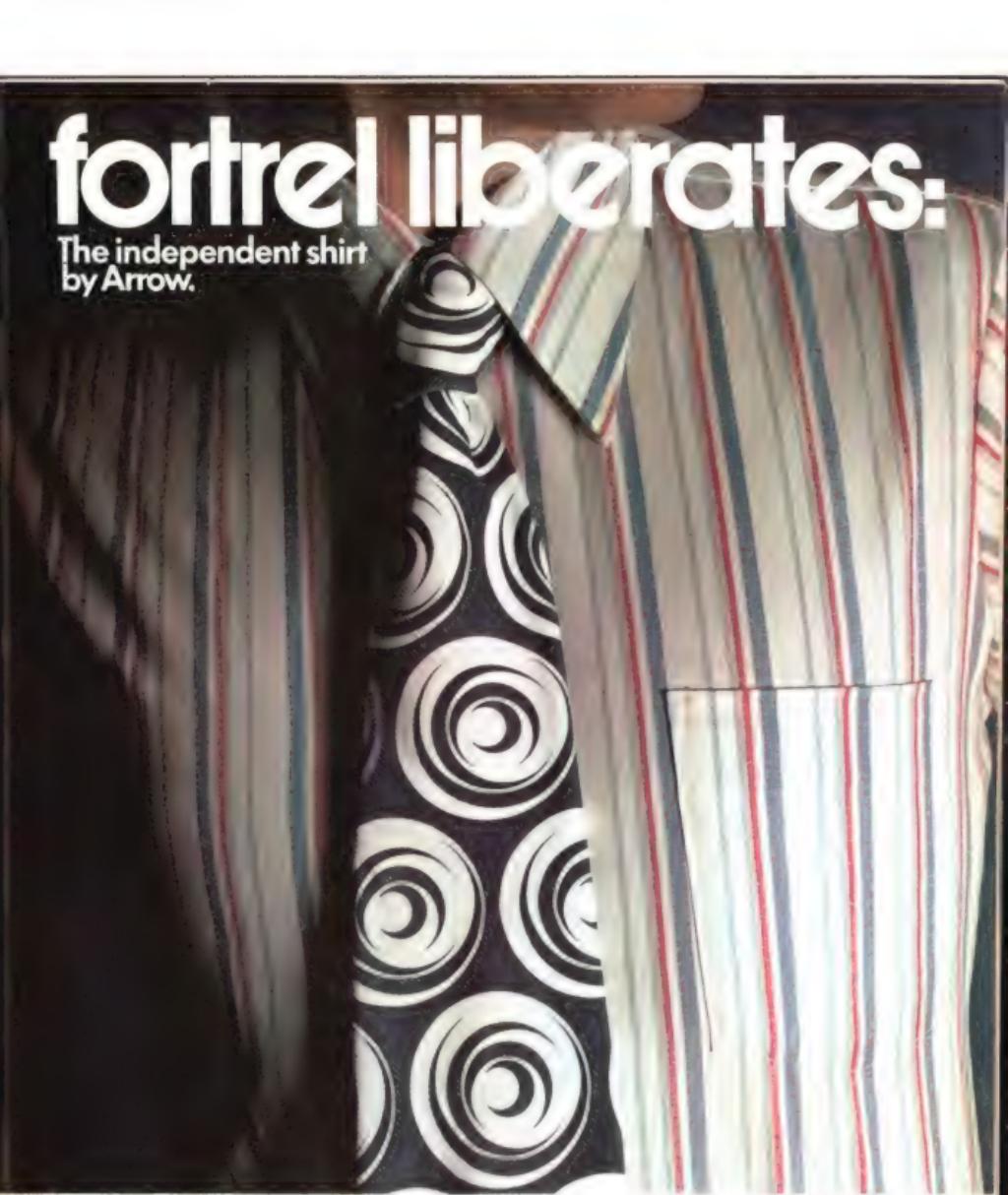
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## LETTERS

### Attica (Contd.)

Sir: Your feature article on Attica prison [Sept. 27] made me want to vomit. What do you think the troopers should have attacked with—ice cream cones?

When you put these evil, vicious enemies of society in prison, they do not become Little Leaguers or Boy Scouts. Prison "reform" begins with a crackdown on these wild mavericks and the thoughtless idiots on the outside who support them.

JIM GRIFFITH  
Cincinnati

Sir: The irony of the Attica slaughter is indeed apparent. The inmates, branded "animals" by many, were animals only by virtue of the conditions under which they were forced to live. For a fact, zoo animals live better than do these prisoners, and zoo animals are not even supposedly being "rehabilitated."

The irony is that these so-called animals had more respect for human life than did our law-enforcement agencies. The inmates merely held their enemies hostage, while the law-enforcement agencies killed both friends and enemies alike.

C.J. CALLAHAN  
Rochester

Sir: In your cover story on Attica, you say: "They passed around clandestine writings of their own; among them was a poem written by an unknown prisoner, crude but touching in its would-be heroic style."

Please tell the poetry specialist who gave us the above that his "find" is a portion of one of the most famous poems ever written—known to Hitler, elementary school children to say nothing of Winston Churchill. The poem is entitled "If We Must Die,"\* and the black poet is Claude McKay (1890-1948). Here is the complete poem:

*If we must die, let it not be like hogs  
Hunted and penned in an inglorious  
spot,  
While round us bark the mad  
and hungry dogs,  
Making their mock at our accursed lot.  
Herr muss sterben, O lasst uns nobly die,  
So that our precious blood  
may not be shed.  
In vain, then even the monsters we  
defy  
Shall be constrained to honor us though  
dead!  
O kinsmen! we must meet the common  
foe!  
Though far outnumbered let us show  
as brave,  
And for their thousand blows deal one  
death-blow!  
What though before us lies the open  
grave?  
Like men we'll face the murderous,  
cowardly pack,  
Press'd to the wall, dying, but  
fighting back!*

GWENDOLYN BROOKS  
Chicago

### Rewards and Resentment

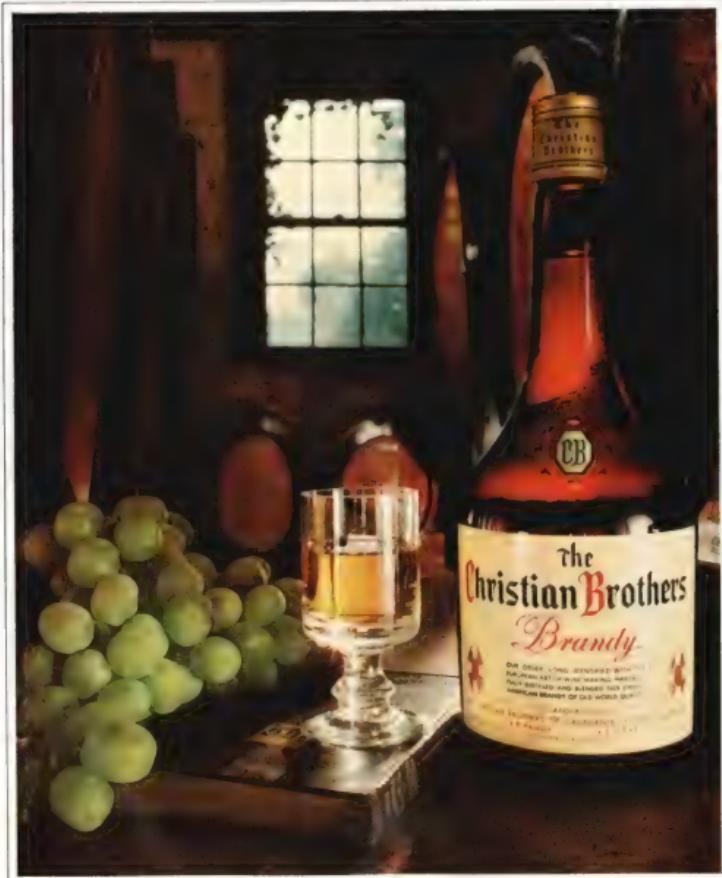
Sir: It is certainly true that positive reinforcement is superior to punishment as a tool for producing constructive behavior.

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She'll take you to our King's House (White House). University. Crafts Market. Botanic Gardens. With celebrity. "Helloo Betty!"

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Over mountains dotted with coffee plantations, spiky Maypole trees, an army camp from the British "empah."

Through an avenue of giant ferns laced with sunlight.

To Spanish Town where English ghosts roam 18th century streets and dwell in the bosky churchyard of the oldest British Colonial cathedral.

To a museum (Iter Boreale) with Arawak diggings in the garden, a pub in the cellar.

To Port Royal and Henry Morgan's church (yes, church). Giddy House (silly) and a plain great wharfside fish house.

To explore the whole lemony land that made Columbus lyricize "there came so fair a smell of trees and flowers that it was the sweetest thing in the world."

Come see. Breathe.

And if Betty's booked, just call another guy.

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*Charles Tanqueray*



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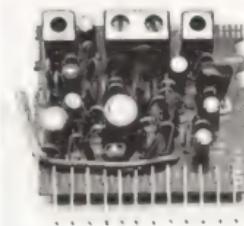
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At European trade fairs, goods are shown, deals are made, business is done. Then we eat. Here I give you a tip on how to do business in Europe, for I, too, am a businessman.

Visit the trade fairs and conventions. Many of the important ones are in Germany, the destination of my airline, Lufthansa German Airlines. My airline will fly you to every important trade fair in Germany because we fly to every important city in Germany, plus a lot of the little ones.

This is my list of the trade fairs in Germany during the first half of 1972.

Jan. 12-16	Frankfurt	Home Furnishing Textiles Trade Fair
Jan. 29-Feb. 6	Munich	BAU 72, International Trade Exchange for Building Materials
Feb. 5-11	Nürnberg	23rd International Toy Fair
Feb. 23-27	Düsseldorf	Euroshop 72, Shopfittings & Display
Mar. 4-9	Offenbach	International Leather Goods Fair
Mar. 5-9	Frankfurt	International Spring Fair
Mar. 9-12	Munich	ISPO 72, International Sports Trade Fair
Mar. 14-18	Hanover	Didacta 72, Educational Materials
Mar. 22-26	Stuttgart	Industrial & Domestic Oil & Gas Heating
Apr. 8-16	Munich	International Handicrafts Fair
Apr. 9-13	Berlin	Interchic 72
Apr. 16-23	Stuttgart	International Hotel, Restaurant & Confectioner Trade Exhibition
Apr. 20-28	Hanover	Hanover Fair 1972
Apr. 25-28	Munich	International Exhibition on Biochemical Analysis
May 15-18	Frankfurt	Clothing Textiles Trade Fair
May 26-Jun. 8	Düsseldorf	International Print & Paper Fair
Jun. 24-Jul. 2	Frankfurt	International Fire Fighting Exhibition

You are ahead of the competition just by having this list, but if you will write to me, The Red Baron, on your letterhead, I will send you a copy of a book that lists the date and place of nearly every trade fair and convention around the world for the next couple of years. Why the whole world? Because Lufthansa flies to more than 100 cities in 65 countries around the world.

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Nevertheless, B.J. Skinner's examples of past successes of his concepts [Sept. 20] fail to impress me. I cannot comment on mental hospitals, jails or business firms, but as one of this nation's secondary-school students, I can testify that his principles have failed in the high schools of at least one average-sized community. For one thing, students recognize attempts to alter their behavior and meet them with resentment comparable to that created by punishment. Furthermore, if incentives are at all successful, the reward situation soon becomes the norm, deviations from which are interpreted as punishment.

MICHAEL ORR  
Great Falls, Mont.

Sir: You have missed the main thrust of Dr. Skinner's ideas about freedom. Skinner feels that we must accept the fact that we never have been and can never possibly be free. We cannot lose or give up something that has never been ours. What is today defined as freedom is merely a description of superficial choices a man may make.

If we accept Skinner's philosophy, we give up the definition of a word and have lost nothing.

STEVEN RUTERMAN  
Syracuse

Sir: Your story failed to mention Skinner's refusal ever to put his ideas to adequate scientific test. Experiments by other psychologists clearly show punishment to be highly effective in controlling behavior, especially if it properly used along with reward.

Likewise, Skinner's "teaching machines" are based on scientifically disproved assumptions about the conditions important to effective human learning. Consequently,

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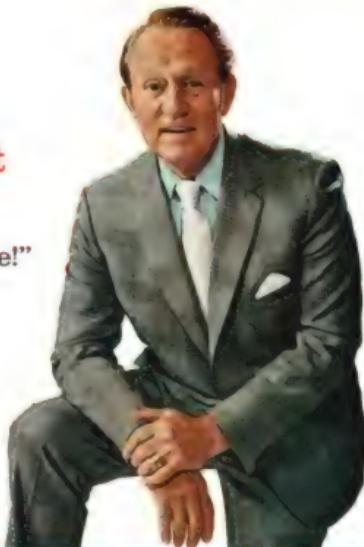
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many experimental psychologists are as strongly opposed to Skinner as the humanists and Freudian psychomachists whose criticisms alone you acknowledge.

WILLIAM F. BATTIG  
Director  
Institute for the Study  
of Intellectual Behavior  
University of Colorado  
Boulder, Colo.

Sir: I am always surprised by people who claim to be concerned about the quality of human life yet are opposed to the behavior-modification approach. Rollo May's statement, for example, that "I have never found any place in Skinner's system for the rebel. Yet the capacity to rebel is of essence in a constructive society," overlooks the fact that rebellion comes out of oppression and suffering, and that a society that causes its members to suffer is not in the most desirable state of affairs.

Behavior therapists have succeeded where all the fine and noble men you quote have not even tried. We have gone on too long trying to make people adjust to an unhealthy environment, first telling them they have "freedom" and then that they are "sick" because they are unhappy and they do not fit. I do hope that Skinner will one day be recognized not as a menace to "free will" but as the genuine humanitarian he is, trying to design an environment where everyone is able to live a satisfying life.

MARILYN COHEN  
Clinical Psychologist  
New York City

### Over the Line

Sir: Foul! Foul! Nixon surely must stoop very low to take credit for pulling down ten pins [Sept. 27], especially when many readers will plainly see that his left foot was over the foul line.

Thus, score those two shots as one big fat zero.

MAYNARD E. WHITEHOUSE  
Delmar, N.Y.

### Abortion and Morality

Sir: The Prince of Darkness is about when doctors cannot see the moral irony in trying to save those whom they tried to abort [Sept. 27]. My administration goes to those women who have accepted the responsibility for their sexual acts and had their babies.

Ours is a morally immature society where lack of charity scorns the unwed mother and sanctions the aborting one.

JAN CHISLESON  
New Orleans

Sir: In our ecologically minded era of recycling, surely the mutually beneficial solution to fumigants in Appalachia and unwanted fetuses in New York is Jonathan Swift's "Modest Proposal" that "a young healthy child, well nursed, is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked or boiled, and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricassee or a ragout." Let those who will, stomach this solution.

MARIA MANSI KREFFT  
West Newton, Mass.

### Broken Embargo

Sir: We must protest about U.S.I.'s breaking of the embargo imposed by Buckingham Palace on the Norman Parkinson-Camera Press portraits of Princess Anne. You

Walk in the footsteps of Christopher Columbus.  
Golf at 13 championship courses.  
Dance all night to a non-stop Goombay drum.  
Or just do nothing.



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# Who are you saving the Old Taylor for?



Aren't your good friends worth your best Bourbon?

Aug. 16 issue preceded the release date by several days and has caused us both embarrassment and inconvenience.

TOM BLU  
Camera Press Ltd.  
London

► TIME regrets its inadvertent error.

#### Variety in Music

Sir: While there is much to admire in the artistic and creative gifts of Pierre Boulez, it seems to me to be quite impossible to accept his statement [Sept. 27] that "the most important thing to change is the musical life as it is now organized. We have too many specialized worlds that have no connection with each other."

Opera is not chamber music, and chamber music is not symphonic music. Many people respond only to one of these forms. That highly desirable situation must not change. If Maestro Boulez conducts only to effect a change, then he is willfully ignoring the musical needs of all Western civilization, which needs profound and penetrating performances of the symphonic repertoire from Bach through Brahms.

ROBERT KREIS  
Music Director

Wheeling Symphony Orchestra  
Wheeling, W. Va.

Sir: What medium could have more of a future than one in which costumes, lighting, music and voices combine to form a living theatrical experience—opera?

It is you, Monsieur Boulez, who belongs under glass!

PATRICIA ALLISON  
St. Louis

#### Another Answer

Sir: After reading yet another speculation on the whereabouts of Martin Borman [Sept. 20], may I offer a simple solution?

On the afternoon of May 2, 1945, when all was quiet, the Friedrichstrasse, from the bridge as far north as one could see, was covered with a thick layer of gray dust. It was impossible to tell, even at very close range, whether the bodies were Russian or German. Anybody who got out of this alive—and I counted 13 on their feet, plus a few wounded in the cel-lars—will bear me out.

Isn't it possible that his body was picked up with all the rest and buried in a mass grave?

I have good reason to believe that this is what happened. I was there.

(MRS.) GISELA DATKO  
Uniontown, Pa.

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NIXON BRIEFING CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS BEFORE TELEVISION ADDRESS LAST WEEK\*

## THE ECONOMY

### A Drive to Beat Inflation—and Democrats

THE presidential campaign of 1972 opened on the evening of Aug. 15, when Richard Nixon startled the nation by proclaiming an unprecedented wage-price freeze. That bold stroke was only the beginning of his new attempt to solve his toughest political problem: how to purge the economy of the twin evils of high inflation and high unemployment. Last week the President was back on TV, several days earlier than expected, to announce his program for Phase II, the period to follow the end of the freeze on Nov. 13. Nixon's speech also sounded like the opening of Phase II of the election campaign.

Politically as well as economically, the impact of what the President announced will be enormous. This much seems clear:

► Nixon has staked his political future on a unique, complex and rather fuzzy mechanism for bringing inflation down and bringing employment up. If it succeeds, the President stands a much better chance of re-election than he did just a few weeks ago. If it fails, he will be in much deeper trouble than before.

► The power of Treasury Secretary John Connally, who takes charge of the new program, has risen tremendously. Rarely has one man held so much influence over the U.S. economy. He is in a position to use that strength to rise considerably higher in public office.

► The President's actions have changed the American economy for years to come, perhaps forever. Since a precedent has been set, businessmen and wage earners can never again be sure that some other President, at some time in the future, will not again roll out restrictions on wages and prices in a

period of much less than total war. For all that, the President's speech was in many respects a disappointment. Viewers waited to be told how much their paychecks would be permitted to rise over the next year or so. They never heard. Nixon unveiled a Rube Goldberg administrative mechanism, including a new Pay Board and a Price Commission—and he gave only the sketchiest outline of all that (*see following story*). The President read letters from self-sacrificing citizens who applauded the wage-price freeze even though it had deprived them of raises, appealed for similar patriotism in the marketplace in the months ahead, and promised that 1972 could be not just a "very good" year but a "great" year for the economy.

Despite the generalities, there is much to endorse in the President's program. It makes a kind of sense and gives Nixon a fighting chance of meeting his goals in the supermarkets and at the polls. Economically, Nixon aims to start a colossal national bargaining process. The Phase II machinery has been set up to force representatives of labor, business and "the public" to agree by Nov. 13 on rules governing wage and price increases. In effect, they will have about a month to negotiate a sort of social compact, which they will then have to enforce in item-by-item decisions on particular pay and price boosts.

That approach is utterly Nixonian: set general goals and a deadline and let others work out the details. Nixon will

not even be the man watching over the bargaining sessions and the eventual enforcement of pay-price rules. He has given that job to Connally, who will now have a vastly expanded stage on which to play his roles of charmer and back-room arm twister. Connally has plunged into the task with gusto. At a televised press conference last Friday, he was incisive, seemingly candid, pleasant and shrewdly disarming enough to give Spiro Agnew still more reason to fear for his spot on the Republican ticket next year.

**Compact or Conflict?** The immediate danger to Nixon's program is the threat of a rebellion by organized labor. Union leaders have been invited to help draw up rules for wage increases, but they simply do not trust a Republican Administration to give them sufficient increases and are balkling. If they pull out of the program, forcing the Government eventually to proclaim wage standards by fiat—and still more if they authorize strikes or work slowdowns to win fatter pay increases than the Government proposes to allow—the nation will not get social compact but social conflict.

In the longer run, the chief danger is that the program will give an appearance of inequity. If it works, pay increases will be limited, but corporate profits will not be. Indeed, profits are expected to rise smartly next year as sales increase and companies' labor costs are held down. That could stir enough resentment among men and women on the production lines to touch off labor turnover later on. Moreover, the new Pay Board will ultimately have to set maximum limits by which wages and salaries will go up. The maximums will

\* From left: Allen Ellender, Mike Mansfield, Nixon, Russell Long, Wright Patman and Hale Boggs.

tend to become minimums. Most executives or workers will expect to get as big a raise as the Government will allow.

**Relevant Schmaltz.** Controls of any sort grate on the American spirit, and the controls in Phase II will have to be endured for a long time. Nixon promised an eventual return to free markets. "We are not going to make controls a permanent feature of American life," he said. But he carefully did not specify any termination date. Connally insists that the restraints will hang on until "we have erased from the minds of people the idea that they are living in a society where there is going to be nothing but continuing inflation."

If inflation is to be quickly defeated, the alternative to the rather hazy Nixon program is not a return to completely free markets but even broader, tighter and more rigidly enforced controls. By comparison, controls forged by labor-management-public agreement and enforced largely by voluntary compliance are more palatable to the nation. They could well work—if Nixon can create the necessary national spirit. For that reason, the President's flag waving on TV was not at all irrelevant. "He may have struck a chord," said a Democratic political leader in Washington. "Any time that a President appeals to the national conscience, no matter how schmaltzy his words, he is going to get some response."

Nixon stands an excellent chance of deflecting Democratic criticism at least until the wage-price mechanism is operating and has developed some momentum. His speech put Democrats in a quandary: they can hardly denounce his stated goal of cutting the rate of price increases in half by the end of 1972, and there are few details of the program available to quibble about. Con-

nally, an undisputed expert at counting votes—and still a Democrat—offers this assessment: "At this stage there are no political shortcomings in the program that would justify a frontal attack. The critics are going to have to await any flaws." Adds Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield: "I think we should give the President every support we possibly can. We should not shoot from the hip, and we should forget politics."

Such statements emphatically do not mean that Democrats have given up on the "economic issue" as their brightest hope for defeating Nixon next year. They have merely shifted their fire from inflation to unemployment. Among the presidential hopefuls, Hubert Humphrey declares: "More than five million Americans are today out of work." How will they and their families benefit with no paychecks with which to buy food, clothing and shelter even at stabilized prices?" Washington Senator Henry ("Scoop") Jackson adds: "Having reluctantly become an economic activist, the President should go all the way and support tax-cutting and job-creating programs that will put the economy into high gear and drastically cut unemployment."

**Aid from the Enemy.** Nixon of course contends that he is doing exactly that by way of his tax-paring package. The President lobbied hard for the program last week at meetings with congressional leaders. It has sailed through the House but faces some revision in the Senate (see box, page 23). For all the bitterness of their rhetoric, the Democrats may wind up in effect helping Nixon. The changes that they seek in the package, chiefly deeper tax cuts for individuals, could stimulate the economy

\* Humphrey is inaccurate. September unemployment totaled 4.8 million.

more than the President's own program.

Even without such aid from the enemy, Nixon's political-economic prospects are substantially improving. Many economists, including Democrats, predict that national production will jump by a historically high \$100 billion or so next year and that the jobless rate will drop about a point, to 5%. Whether these forecasts come true will depend largely on Nixon's success in inspiring confidence within the nation—confidence that his wage-price restraints are fair and that they will work, so that consumers' dollars will no longer be ruthlessly chewed up by inflation.

**Best of Worlds.** In the best of all possible worlds for Nixon next year, consumers will spend their way back to prosperity, and the inflation rate will simultaneously come down to about 3% just before Election Day. Even if that happens, Democrats will be able to claim accurately that the picture looks rosy only by comparison with the first three years of Nixon's term in office. They will make much of the facts that the national output will still be some \$50 billion below what it could have been if full employment had been maintained, that one out of every 20 Americans seeking work will still be unable to find a job, and that the White House will have reached its goals on inflation years late and only after a damaging recession. Nixon will reply that he inherited a long, roaring inflation from Lyndon Johnson and was able to turn it around.

How long is the public's memory? Will voters be mad at Nixon because of the economic failures in the early years of his presidency? Or will they be so enthused by an upturn in prosperity and a downturn in inflation next year that they will grant him a second term? For men who count votes, these promises to be the big questions of 1972.



"That's right, folks, inflation-fighting Phase II comes to you absolutely free of charge . . .



. . . which isn't to say free of conditions."

# A Blurry Banner for Phase II

PRESIDENT NIXON has summoned a "volunteer army" of wage earners, corporate executives, bankers and consumers to march against inflation—under a blurry banner emblazoned so far with only an official emblem, an organization chart and row upon row of question marks.

What the White House aims to create is a national consensus on wage-price policy that will be mostly self-policing. Standards for pay and price rises are to be set by representatives of labor, management and "the public," not directly by Government officials. The stick of federal compulsion will be available to back up their decisions, but it will fall most heavily on a relative handful of giant corporations and major unions. Drafters of the program have deliberately not provided enough enforcement officers to do anything more than spot-check the wages and prices at small machine shops, corner laundries and car washes. That essentially voluntary approach is a gamble that will succeed only if Americans display a spirit of economic self-sacrifice that, historically, they have shown only in times of all-out war.

**The Hard Questions.** Nixon tried to arouse that spirit on television. He left most details of his program for others to announce—probably wisely because it is not easy to stir patriotic fervor by unfurling an organization chart. Instead, he concentrated on exhortation. Said the President: "I call upon all of you tonight to look at this program not as Democrats or Republicans, workers or businessmen, farmers or consumers, but as Americans. We cannot afford a business-as-usual attitude anywhere, because fighting inflation is everybody's business."

Nixon left unanswered all the hard questions about what will happen after the wage-price freeze ends Nov. 13. Workers had no clearer an idea than before of how big a raise they can expect, or if they can expect any at all. Company executives were not told what prices they will be able to increase or by how much. Tenants were still wondering when, if and by what amount their landlords will be permitted to raise the rent.

The White House specified only an "interim" goal: cutting the rate of inflation roughly in half by the end of 1972, so that prices then will be rising an average of only 2% to 3% a year.



In order to achieve that, some Administration aides imply, wages and benefits will have to be held to a 5% to 6% annual increase. How to get there from here will be decided largely by persons not yet chosen for boards, commissions and other bodies not yet created.

**No Cheers for Notre Dame.** The organization chart for Phase II of the President's New Economic Policy is impressively detailed. Nixon set up three committees, two commissions, one council, one administration and one board (with a committee inside it). The key bodies are to act partly as think tanks calculating formulas for allowable wage and price boosts, partly as courts ruling on pleas from businessmen and union chiefs for exceptions from the general standards, partly as prosecuting attorneys' offices seeking injunctions and fines against violators of their decisions. White House aides gave some details in a long briefing paper and background ses-

sions, but these details also raised questions. Major points:

**ONE: A Pay Board and a Price Commission will be created as the heart of the Phase II apparatus.**

The Pay Board will have 15 members—five each from management, labor and the public at large. They will establish yardsticks for permissible increases in wages, salaries, pensions and other fringe benefits, bonuses, salesmen's commissions and the like. A committee within the board will formulate rules for executive pay boosts. Meanwhile, the Price Commission will do the same for prices and rents. The commission will consist of seven "public" members.

What sort of people will Nixon choose for the crucial posts of "public" representatives on the Pay Board and Price Commission? Judges? Lawyers? Professors? Labor arbitrators? Over the weekend, Nixon men gave the first hint. They named to the Pay Board William G. Caples, president of Kenyon College in Ohio and a former vice president of Inland Steel. Otherwise, Administration officials have been silent. They will say only that they are looking for "tough" people. They are much clearer about whom they do not want: anyone like the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame, who is regarded in the Nixon White House as a wishy-washy liberal.

**TWO: After devising general rules, the Pay Board and the Price Commission will weigh particular increases case by case.**

An unspecified number of the largest companies and unions will be required to give prior notice of any planned wage or price hikes. Those raises will take effect only if the new bodies approve. A larger number of somewhat smaller but still sizable companies and unions will have to report, probably quarterly, any pay or price boosts they make. The board or commission can order rollbacks of any increases deemed to violate the general standards.

One crucial question is what will happen to wage increases coming due under existing contracts? Some 2,100,000 workers are scheduled soon to get increases averaging 7.6%, which Administration economists figure is too high. Labor leaders, invoking the sanctity of contracts, are threatening to fight in court any attempt to scale down these increases. Connally's position: the Pay Board will decide on each increase, with

COMMITTEE ON  
INTEREST AND  
DIVIDENDS  
Chairman:  
Arthur F. Burns

COMMITTEE ON  
THE HEALTH SERVICES  
INDUSTRY

SERVICE & COMPLIANCE  
ADMINISTRATION  
(Internal Revenue Service)  
Works under Pay Board and  
Price Commission and  
reports to COIC

COMMITTEE ON STATE  
& LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
COOPERATION

PRODUCTIVITY  
COMMISSION  
33 members

TIME Chart by J. Donovan

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Our car has four-wheel disc brakes and a dual-diagonal braking system so you stop

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It has a wide stance. (About 55 inches.) So it rides and handles like a sports car.

Outside, our car is smaller than a lot of "small" cars. 172" overall length, 57" overall width.

Inside, our car has bucket seats up front and a full five feet across in the back so you can easily accommodate five adults.

It also has more headroom than a Rolls Royce and more room from the brake pedal to the back seat than a Mercedes 280. And it has factory air conditioning as an option.

There are a lot of other things that make our car different from their car. Like roll cage construction and a special "hot seat" for cold winter days.

So before you buy their car, stop by your nearest SAAB dealer and drive our car. The SAAB 99E. We think you'll buy it instead of theirs.

## SAAB 99E



the understanding that any outsize boosts allowed in a given industry will have to be balanced later by below-guideline increases for other workers. "To the extent they permit large raises," says Connally, "others will have to be smaller."

**THREE:** *The Price Commission will have authority to order a price rollback by any company making "windfall" profits.*

What is a "windfall" profit? Connally defines it as an extraordinarily large profit arising out of the operation of the program of wage-price restraints, but confesses that he is unable to offer any examples of how a company might make such a profit. His vagueness is likely to stir suspicion that this part of the control program is merely a verbal sop to union leaders who have been howling for some limit on corporate earnings. One possible example: a company that had raised prices just before the freeze, had a wage increase scheduled under a previously signed union contract delayed by the freeze, and has been keeping as profit the money that would otherwise have gone into pay envelopes. There is also a question as to whether the Administration has the legal authority to order price cuts as well as stopping price increases.

**FOUR:** *Several lesser, but still important bodies will be set up.*

A Committee on the Health Services



PAUL CONNALLY

MEANY  
Potential for conflict.

Industry will advise the Pay Board and Price Commission on how to adapt wage and price standards to doctors' fees and hospital charges. A Committee on State and Local Government Cooperation will advise on wage standards for public employees. An Interest and Dividends Committee of high Government officials, headed by Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur F. Burns, will try, presumably by jawboning, to persuade bankers to hold down loan rates voluntarily and corporate executives to hold

down dividend payouts. Nixon will also ask Congress for standby authority to set legal ceilings on interest.

**FIVE:** *A Service and Compliance Administration will handle enforcement.*

This administration will really be the Internal Revenue Service wearing a second hat: it will be staffed by 3,000 IRS agents working out of 360 field offices around the country. They will investigate complaints of pay or price violations by the big companies and unions that report to the Pay Board and Price Commission. The agents will also spot-check the books of small companies in order to make sure that they are complying with the national wage and price guidelines as well as with the tax laws.

The chairman of the Pay Board and Price Commission will have authority to seek injunctions and fines against violators big or small; such cases will be prosecuted by the Justice Department. The fine for each violation will be \$5,000. That is not as small as it sounds. A machine tool maker, for example, could conceivably be fined \$5,000 for every tool shipped at a higher price than the Price Commission proposes to allow.

**SIX:** *Connally's Cost of Living Council will sit atop the whole structure.*

The COLC will stay out of day-to-day administration and will not hear

## Inflation Conternation on High

AS the first cold gusts of autumn sweep the land, wage earners are settling down to the realization that a long siege of freezefix controls on pay increases lies ahead. But come the winter of their discontent, Americans can warm themselves with the thought that by keeping a weather eye out for surreptitious or unintentional price increases, they can use their private protests to make Phase II really work.

The war of the little man against rising prices is already causing consternation in high places. Among last week's skirmishes:

► In Detroit, a *Free Press* reporter alerted federal agents that the Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel was replacing the 10¢ locks on its men's room pay toilets with 25¢ locks. Hotel Manager Patrick Birmingham, flushed with embarrassment after word of his overpriced plumbing began to seep out, ordered the old, noninflationary devices reinstated.

► In Brooklyn, Rudolf Wiesen, a store designer, caught the city of New York trying to reduce the time limit on the 10¢ parking meter in front of his office from two hours to one hour. After Wiesen

reminded the city's traffic department about the freeze, the department agreed to reconvert other parking meters around the city to pre-Aug. 15 prices.

► In Hopkinton, N.H., some 30,000 New Englanders flocked to a county fair over the Labor Day weekend. After visitors complained that this year's \$2 admission charge, 50¢ more than last year's, was an unfair fair fare, the event's organizers offered a refund last week to anyone who could present a ticket stub. Since few people had retained their stubs, fair officials were still trying to figure out what to do with \$10,000 of unclaimed but illegally collected cash.

► In Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University raised the price of its football programs from 50¢ to 75¢ this season. Irate fans cried illegal procedure, and last week the IRS threw Northwestern for a loss: the programs have dropped back to 50¢.

► In Atlanta, an exterminating firm picked the wrong customer to bug with a raise on his monthly bill (from \$7.50 to \$8). The victim was Ed Hicks, a staffer at the Office of Emergency Preparedness. After he promised that the

matter would get close attention, the company decided that the raise was a mistake and withdrew it.

► In San Antonio, an apartment owner was enjoined by Federal Judge Adrian Spears from collecting \$10-a-month rent increases from two of his 104 tenants. The raises were written into the rent schedule last April, but were not due to take effect until after the freeze began. It was the Government's first court victory against a freeze violator.

► In Joliet, Ill., Robert DeMary, an inmate at Stateville Penitentiary, filed a suit in federal district court charging that prices in the prison store have risen unfettered by the President's dictum. DeMary asks that Warden John Twomey and Peter Bensinger, the state's director of corrections, each be held liable for \$125,000 that prisoners have paid in unlawfully inflated prices.

► In Raleigh, N.C., a woman complained to the IRS that the manager of her apartment had been bounding her for a \$200 security deposit on her dog. The deposit was to be refunded when she vacated the apartment, provided that the dog had done no damage. She refused to pay, and IRS officials informed the manager that he was barking up the wrong tree.

## An Engaging Speech

ONE of the four letters of support that President Nixon read during his television address was written by Virginia Jones, 42, a widowed schoolteacher from Woodbury, N.J., who had missed a scheduled pay raise because of the freeze. While the President was quoting Mrs. Jones, she was listening to another speech: George Krajewski was proposing marriage to her in front of the TV set, which was turned off. Mrs. Jones accepted. Krajewski, a foreman at the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, gave her a diamond ring midway through the President's peroration, and she never heard herself quoted. "I told the President I would be losing about \$100 a month because of the freeze," she said later. "But I am willing to sacrifice that \$100 if it is for the good of the country. The letter was from my heart."



MRS. JONES WITH FIANCÉ & RING

any appeals from the decisions of the Pay Board and Price Commission. Connally says, though, that it will "review" the standards set by the various boards, commissions and committees to see that they are "in balance" with each other and show real promise of cutting the inflation rate in half by the end of next year. Just what the word review may mean has been left deliberately vague, apparently in order to give Connally maximum scope in guiding the decisions of the other bodies without explicitly threatening their independence.

This whole structure reflects the often-voiced and bitter reminiscences of Richard Nixon, a veteran of the World War

II Office of Price Administration, which deployed a bureaucratic army of price inspectors across the country. In contrast to the OPA, the number of employees of the new mechanism will be fairly small.

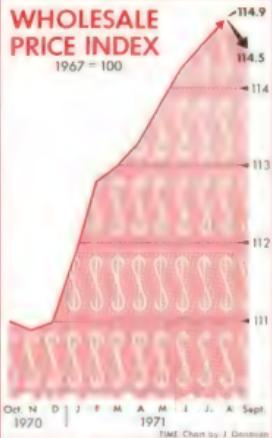
The new program, though, has many jurisdictional oddities. Both a self-employed television repairman and a TV repairman who works for a company will have their incomes regulated—but by different bodies. The Price Commission will set standards applying to the fees that the self-employed repairman can charge; the Pay Board will draw up rules governing what wages the employee repairman can collect. Doctors may eventually be visited by those much-feared IRS agents, inquiring into complaints of "excessive" charges for operations or consultations. But lawyers who are partners in a firm will face no such investigations; income from partnerships will be considered profits, which are unregulated.

These quirks result largely from the fact that the Phase II machinery has been set up to give something to everybody. Labor demanded a tripartite board, including union representatives, to determine pay, while business insisted that only public representatives chosen by a Republican White House rule on prices. Each won its point. Labor in addition got some Government gestures toward control of interest rates and profits—but the limits on "windfall" profits are so far not strict enough to anger corporate chiefs.

**Economic Home Run.** The first public reaction to this program was a mixture of approval and uncertainty. The most volatile economic indicator, the stock market, wobbled nervously. On the day after Nixon's speech, the Dow Jones industrial average fell nearly eight points, and it closed the week at 894. Investors found it difficult to appraise the program, and they were particularly unsure about what actions the new Interest and Dividends Committee might take.

The nation's businessmen and bankers generally supported the President's actions. Said A.W. ("Tom") Clausen, president of the Bank of America: "We believe his program will begin to make possible an orderly transition out of the freeze." With liberal use of metaphor, Dow Chemical Chairman Carl Gerstacker responded in terms that Sports Fan Nixon understands best: "The President has hit another home run in the fight against inflation." Chrysler Corp. Chairman Lynn Townsend voiced the hope that the Price Commission will allow some increases on '72 models, which came out during the freeze. Said he: "We price only once a year, and the freeze caught us at the worst possible time."

Professional economists were more cautious, but mostly approving. Robert Nathan and Beryl Sprinkel, two members of TIME's Board of Economists, believe that the President was wise in



trying to form a consensus on wages and prices before establishing specific guidelines. Sprinkel, although an ideological opponent of economic controls, added that Nixon acted realistically in setting his goal as 2% to 3% inflation by the end of 1972, rather than specifying some lower number that would be more attractive but unreachable.

Many economists and businessmen, however, were more inclined to stress the indefinite nature of much of the program. "Until I see the flesh on the skeleton, I can't tell whether the girl is beautiful or not," quipped Arthur Okun, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. Joseph Pechman, director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution, complained that Nixon "is providing machinery, but not yet a policy for restraining wages and prices." In the judgment of George Sheinberg, treasurer of Bulova Watch Co., the impact of the program "is going to depend almost entirely on the people whom Nixon appoints. He needs more men like Connally—people who really take hold and are effective in a short time."

**The Buck Blocker.** The program indeed seems largely designed both by and for John Connally. The Phase II structure was planned mostly by Budget Boss George Shultz and Economic Adviser Herbert Stein, and it reflects their horror of controls imposed directly on the economy by Government officials. A mild joke in the White House is that "the only reason that Phase II may work is that the people who designed the controls do not believe in them." It was Connally, however, who insisted that the Administration commit itself to the simple objective of lowering price increases to a 2% or 3% rate about a year from now. He did so against the advice of some members of

the Cost of Living Council, notably Shultz, who wanted no numerical guideline at all, and against others who wanted specific, low figures for wages and prices to be reached quickly. A program that would move toward a fairly clear goal, but in ways and at a pace to be defined pragmatically as it proceeded, especially suited Connally's talents as a maker of coalitions and manipulator of pressure groups.

Connally put some of those talents on display at his jammed press conference the day after the President's announcement. He airily asserted that the Pay Board and Price Commission have "a world of time" in which to formulate wage and price standards before the freeze ends Nov. 13—in full knowledge that his Cost of Living Council has authority to promulgate temporary rules if they fail. He disclaimed any role as economic czar, contending that the COLC would not "veto" any standards formulated by the other bodies—and managed to make his stand sound forceful. "We will not let these groups pass the buck up to us," he said sternly. "If the Price Commission permitted prices that patently were exorbitant," he added, "or if the Pay Board announced their own goal of a 6% rate of inflation instead of 2% to 3%—well, at that point we'd lock horns." His self-assured manner left no doubt who would win.

**Unspoken Implication.** Connally's main job at the press conference was to allay the suspicions of A.F.L.-C.I.O. President George Meany. Fearing above all that an unfriendly Republican Administration would overrule the wage decisions of a tripartite board, Meany had demanded that the Pay Board be completely independent of the Government. He had initially decided to cooperate with the program, but withdrew his support even as President Nixon was speaking Thursday night. Briefings of newsmen by White House aides had led Meany to believe that Connally's COLC would exercise veto power over the Pay Board.

Connally adroitly put Meany on the spot before the nationwide TV audience. Asked if Meany would be on the Pay Board, Connally happily issued a pithy invitation: "I expect him to be. I hope he will be. He's been asked. I can't imagine that he couldn't make a great contribution." The obvious, but carefully unspoken implication was that if Meany declines to serve and sets organized labor to fighting the program in the courts or on the picket lines, he will be largely to blame for the failure of the most promising effort yet to check inflation.

Whether Meany will be won over is still highly doubtful. He has reserved his decision, pending a meeting this week of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s 35-man executive council. Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers and Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, who head the two largest unions in the country,

will also attend, even though their unions are not in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Both have been asked to sit on the Pay Board along with Meany, although Woodcock has echoed Meany in declining to do so unless he is assured that the board will be independent.

The labor leaders, however, know that they run an immense risk of outraging public opinion if they do not at least go on the Pay Board and see if it can be made to work. If they do join the Pay Board, there will still be rich potential for conflict. Meany intends to demand that all pay raises held up by the freeze be paid when it ends, a step that the White House has said will not be permitted.

**Auspicious Indicators.** If Nixon and Connally can win labor's grudging acceptance, the stabilization program stands at least a fair chance of success. Economically, Phase II is being set up at an auspicious time. Wholesale prices in September showed their largest drop, 0.4%, in five years. The unemployment rate inched down from 6.1% to 6%—nothing to arouse wild cheers, but still a move in the right direction.

A major imponderable is the attitude of the President. The machinery for Phase II has been designed to operate at not one, but two removes from the White House. In part, that is not a bad idea. Interference by the head of Government eventually undermined the au-

thority of Britain's Prices and Income Board in the 1960s. The President and his aides shaped the Phase II machinery after listening to British veterans of that board advise that the wage-price mechanism be insulated from political meddling.

At some point, however, the President will have to place the prestige of his office directly behind the machinery. Sooner or later, the Pay Board and the Price Commission will have to issue rulings that will be hotly disputed. Nixon will be asked if he supports them. If he dodges, public support will waver. The owner of a corner grocery may obey a ruling backed by the President, but not one on which the President is noncommittal.

The administrative machinery is cumbersome, and the different bodies could find themselves working at cross purposes. The Pay Board, for example, could approve wage increases that would force price boosts larger than the Price Commission wants to allow. The Health Services Committee could advise allowing rises in medical-care costs that would wipe out any gains achieved by holding industrial prices down. Making sure that all parts of this machinery move in unison is the job of, above all, that enigmatic, smiling, charming, menacing, tough Texan—John C. Connally. It is a task to tax even his vaulting ambitions.



OPA STAFFERS PLANNING PRICE CONTROLS IN 1942  
A spirit of self-sacrifice shown only in all-out war.

## The Rising Star From Texas

A FEW weeks before John Connally was sworn in as Secretary of the Treasury last February, he threw a big wingding at his ranch in Floresville, Texas. Under a striped tent the guests dined on succulent barbecued ribs and homemade ice cream. Their host, glowing and happy, exclaimed: "You know, this is a damn good life."

For Connally, life has indeed been sweet. Beginning with his hardscrabble boyhood on a Texas farm, he has been irresistibly drawn to wealth and power and has managed, by an adroit mixture of dash and obsequience, to gain both. As Lyndon B. Johnson's Wolsey for more than 30 years and a three-term Democratic Governor of Texas, he learned well the means of acquiring and using political power. Now he is one of the most potent and magnetic personalities in Richard Nixon's Washington, the chief designer of Phase I, the prime enforcer of Phase II, and by most accounts the strongest Treasury Secretary since George Humphrey of the Eisenhower era.

Vain, determined, gregarious, unencumbered by any noticeable traces of self-doubt or abiding commitment, Connally functions well on the shifting surface of events and has learned to do business with just about anybody. As he said about himself last week: "I'm so little understood. There's so little in my past to indicate what I think or believe. If people knew me well, they'd realize that on many of the things they discuss about me so avidly, I haven't any views."

**Summer Lightning.** A tall, handsome, immaculately tailored man with a carefully clipped mane of silver hair, Connally cuts a striking, almost theatrical figure. No member of Nixon's inner circle has his personal magnetism. He strongly resembles his longtime mentor, Johnson. There are the same drawing intonation of speech, the same earthy turns of phrase. Yet his features are finer and his manner smoother than Johnson's: nobody can quite picture Connally showing off an operation scar. He can charm foes with a wry, knowing smile that flickers as brightly and as summer lightning.

Behind the smiles and easy badinage, however, Connally projects an icy, faintly bullying power that compels attention. His demands can be overwhelming. In a widely remembered remark about U.S. international trade and monetary goals, Connally summed up his position: "All I want is a fair advantage." He is a bad loser. Says one Texas politician who has been up against him: "He is totally unforgiving of his political enemies. He'll carry his grudges to the

grave. He can also be tenacious as hell, clawing and pushing his way past any obstacle." Connally is no less ambitious than Johnson and he has the same sure instinct for what people want and what they will give to get it.

Connally, a nominal Democrat with deep roots in the conservative branch of the Texas party, first gained Nixon's gratitude by helping him find Texas oil and gas moguls to contribute to Republican coffers in the 1968 presidential campaign. Later, when Nixon's drive seemed to falter in Texas, Connally stumped for Hubert Humphrey and helped him win the state, nonetheless, partly because of Connally's early aid.



CONNALLY  
*Unencumbered by self-doubt.*

Nixon offered him the post of Secretary of Defense, which he refused. Fairly early in the Nixon Administration, Connally also turned down an invitation to become Secretary of the Treasury. Nixon continued to be impressed by him, especially by his work as a member of the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization headed by Industrialist Roy Ash. By late last year, when the President asked Connally to help solve the U.S.'s No. 1 problem—the economic mess—Connally saw the opportunity to help the nation, and himself. He accepted.

**Part of Everything.** Nixon needed a supersalesman who could put across his economic programs to the Democratic Congress, the business community and the consumer. In his view, John Connally was just the man to fill this Texas-sized void. The new Treasury Secretary arrived among the good gray men of

the Nixon Administration with the rakish swagger of a corsair entering an economics seminar. "I frankly like to be part of everything," Connally said shortly after moving into the Treasury. "I want nearly everything that goes on to go over my desk."

Yet there was a question whether he would survive at all. He had scant grounding in banking or economics, and his reputation among the world's moneymen was nil. Connally's reply to those who questioned his ability: "I can add." Republicans distrusted him. Liberal Democrats, recalling his close ties to the oil and gas industry, had no great love for him.

**Busting the Wall.** At first, Connally had hurdles to overcome in the White House. Not the least of them was getting access to the President. It was no easy job to break through the "Berlin Wall" that had been erected by staff aides to shield the President from minor, distracting men or matters. Connally was blocked—briefly. One day an economic memo that he sent to the President was bounced back by a senior aide, who suggested that Connally revise it. Connally exploded: "That's my memorandum. I don't want that son of a bitch to get into the act." He sent an acid note right to the offending aide, and soon afterward the memo went through unquestioned. Practically nothing that the Secretary has sent since has been touched.

The fact that Connally quickly became a vital force in the Nixon Administration made working at the Treasury exciting. Connally also proved to be a "quick study," says Murray Weidenbaum, a former assistant secretary: "When you got used to the Texas accent, it became apparent that here was a very sharp mind. Connally could go right to the heart of the matter. You'd give him two fat briefing books the night before he was to testify before a committee, and when you talked to him the next morning, you knew he'd read them."

Connally took easily and quickly to his salesman's job on Capitol Hill. Indeed, he spent seven of his first ten days in office testifying before one congressional committee or another. He swiftly showed that he knew how to play the game. Once he began a hearing on an interest-rate bill before Wilbur Mills' House Ways and Means Committee by announcing that no compromise was possible, that the measure had to go through intact. At the hearing's end, Mills held out a compromise—and Connally snapped it up. Complimented recently on a good performance before a congressional committee, he hawed: "Well, I just got to tell the truth. I'm not devious enough to lie." A White House aide describes Connally's

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Old age problems.

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Since then, the number of cars has tripled while total highway mileage has increased about 20%—mostly in urban areas.

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For a starter, complete the Interstate as soon as possible. And at the same time, update the old roads. Widen them. Straighten out dangerous curves. Increase visibility.

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style: "It's deep bull, and since most of these guys are so full of it themselves, they appreciate it."

In the first tough assignment that Nixon handed to Connally—shepherding the Lockheed loan guarantee through Congress—the Secretary scored a brilliant success. Lawyer Connally was one of the few men in Government who could understand the complexities of the Lockheed deal and explain them to bankers, airline executives and legislators. The deal passed the Senate by one vote.

Even before the Administration's laissez-faire economic policies foundered badly in midsummer, Connally was privately urging the President to switch to more intervention (while publicly ruling out controls). In this Connally formed an alliance with Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns. When the President finally accepted the need to change, Connally was ready. At the fateful Camp David meeting in mid-August, he was the only man present to have a full series of proposals, contained in position papers that had been worked out by his staff. Second only to Nixon, Connally was in command at Camp David. The intellectual backdrop for the new program had been supplied by Burns: the operational details of the freeze came from Connally.

The bluff, freewheeling manner that serves Connally so well in domestic matters has a jolting effect in international affairs. Foreign ministers and bankers, accustomed to a discreet, subtle dialogue, were outraged by Connally's unyielding tone and unvarnished demands that foreign nations revalue their currencies, lower their trade barriers and increase their defense contributions. Though he has softened his approach lately, it is at least questionable whether he will ever become attuned to the quiet nuances of international bargaining. Yet a miscalculation in this area could at worst lead to a ruinous world trade war and politically dangerous disruption of traditional global alliances.

**Politics as Art.** There is a warm affinity between Nixon and Connally, and it is based on more than a mutual interest in power. Both men started poor and believe in the virtues of moderation, self-discipline, law-and-order. Both are lawyers and have been money managers for the rich. And both view politics as the art of manipulation, negotiation and organization. Connally is a practiced political professional in an Administration that is heavy with academics and politically green businessmen.

Nixon, the very private man, is also taken with Connally, the jaunty, commanding extrovert. The President delights in having the Secretary preside over private gatherings, which he does frequently in Washington, Key Biscayne and the Western White House at San Clemente. Nixon sometimes telephones Connally three or four times a day. Says one White House aide: "The President is simply in awe of him." Adds an-

other staffer: "Connally is one of the few whom Nixon is willing to discuss a lot of things with—politics, foreign relations, domestic problems."

All this attention obviously satisfies Connally's high image of himself. "I'm at the White House more than I ever was when L.B.J. was President," he says. He also amply returns the compliment implicit in the President's interest in him. "You've got a great President here," he tells unquestioning White House aides. "You ought to support him to the hilt." When he sits with Nixon and a group of businessmen, he will drop in such phrases as "Under the Pres-

ident's effective leadership . . ." He recently told friends: "What I admire most about Nixon is his raw political guts. He's a very courageous President."

In less than a year, Connally has eclipsed practically all of the President's other economic and political aides, and he is closing fast on Attorney General John Mitchell, once the Administration's undisputed No. 2 man for domestic affairs. For all his triumphs, however, Connally has formed no close personal friendships with any of the Nixon men. Many of them still resent him—but quietly for the moment. "He's riding too high for them now," says one of the Sec-

## Congress Bends to the President

**V**ETERANS in the congressional press gallery could scarcely remember when the House of Representatives had ever acquiesced so easily and completely to a far-ranging piece of legislation. Last week President Nixon's proposal to reduce federal taxes for both corporations and individuals—the other major part of his domestic economic program besides Phase II—slid through the lower house without even a roll-call vote. Its quick passage was evidence of just how commandingly the President has seized the economic issue, and how willing Congress had been to let him have his way.

In part, that is because Nixon has adopted many of the ideas long urged on him by Democrats, including one of the most powerful of them, Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills. Last week Mills acknowledged the President's ability now to get the tax legislation that he wants from Congress. Just before the tax-bill vote, Mills said: "It's all cut and dried."

Certainly the Administration faces harder going in the Senate than in the House. Almost all the Democratic presidential aspirants are Senators, and several are itching to put their personal stamp on the bill. They will likely concentrate on giving more tax breaks to individuals, a job that Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long last week said the upper house is "in the mood" to perform. As passed by the House, the Nixon measure already provides some tax reduction for individuals. A family of four with an income of \$15,000 would save about \$22 on its income tax bill for this year and \$44 next year. Long expects final passage of a more generous tax-relief bill by this month's end.

The bill's progress through the legislative gauntlet, where several of the President's key programs have previously been whacked to the sidelines, has been enormously helped by the Capitol Hill diplomacy of Treasury

Secretary John Connally. Last week, while testifying before the Senate Finance Committee, Connally cannily gave his blessing to several "reasonable" changes drafted by the House, including more tax relief for low-income families. He also accepted a House measure raising the standard rate of proposed investment tax credit from 5% to 7%. In order to give the economy a greater initial spur, however, he asked the Senate

ROBERT SWANSON/LIFE



MILLS IN HIS CAPITOL HILL OFFICE

to restore a House-cut premium rate of 10% for capital goods bought during the first year covered by the bill.

Whatever level it finally sets, the Senate would be well advised to eliminate right now the provision of the new investment credit that bans foreign-made machinery from qualifying for the tax break. That rule is supposed to be dropped when Nixon removes the 10% surtax on all imported goods. But the protectionist rule, which has the effect of adding to the price of non-American capital goods above and beyond the increases brought about by the surcharge and monetary changes, is already fiercely resented abroad and with good reason. In the past, U.S. trade officials have registered strong opposition when foreign governments adopted similar measures that might impede American exports.



CONNALLY AT CAMP DAVID MEETING IN AUGUST WHEN THE FREEZE WAS FORMULATED  
From Lyndon Johnson's Wolsey to Nixon's supersalesman.

retary's friends, adding: "But let him stumble and they'll be all over him."

Connally's closest companions in Washington are Democrats. High among them is Robert Strauss, treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, to which Connally still contributes \$100 a month. Connally practically never drinks, avoids the Washington cocktail circuit, and accepts only a few of the more than 1,000 social invitations that he receives in an average week. Several other Cabinet members turn down invitations to parties that they know Connally will attend: they recognize that he will have center stage, and they do not want to be outshone.

**A Long Way from Home.** The glitter and glory of Washington seems light years away from the small Texas farm where Connally and seven brothers and sisters were raised. His father worked at whatever jobs he could get—tenant farmer, shopkeeper, butcher. The future Treasury Secretary walked barefoot to school. In 1932, his father bought a 1,000-acre farm, and by the time John was ready to go to the University of Texas, his family had the money to pay his tuition. He became class president as well as a leader in debating, acting and the speech club. During one play rehearsal, Connally met a lovely freshman, Idanell (Nellie) Brill, who was playing a belly dancer. She has been his lady love ever since; they have three grown children.

Connally was stacking books for the National Youth Administration in 1936 when he met—and was properly impressed by—Lyndon Johnson. The next year, in Johnson's first congressional campaign, Connally stuffed envelopes. By 1941, he was a key worker in Johnson's unsuccessful bid for the Senate. When war came, Connally served as naval officer, earning nine battle stars. After the war, he worked for a time for Johnson's Austin radio station, K1BC. Eventually, he borrowed \$25,000 and opened a second Austin station, KVET, which he later sold. Connally was chief strategist for Johnson's 1948 Senate race.

Mysteriously, after the polls had closed 203 votes were added to the returns from Alice, Texas—202 of them for Johnson, who won the seat by 87 votes out of about one million cast.

Having good friends in high places did not hurt Connally. Largely because of his close relationship with L.B.J., he was hired in 1952 by Multimillionaire Oilman Sid Richardson Connally, as chief administrator and lobbyist for Richardson, was primarily concerned with guarding against any Government effort to reduce the depletion allowance, which then allowed a 27.5% tax deduction on the income of oil and gas producers. In 1956, Connally was among the main lobbyists in Washington who worked for the passage of a bill freezing natural gas from federal price controls. Under the protective wing of Johnson and House Speaker Sam Rayburn, also a friend and mentor of Connally's, the bill passed both houses.

Then a scandal broke. South Dakota Republican Senator Francis Case declared that an oil lobbyist had offered him a \$2,500 bribe to support the bill. An angry President Eisenhower vetoed the measure. Asked about the scandal, Connally remarked: "I had no part in the incident any more than anyone else who was interested in the oil and gas business." After Richardson's death in

WITH NELLIE AFTER KENNEDY ASSASSINATION



1959, Connally was made one of three co-executors of his estate, a job for which he was paid \$75,000.

**Spread in the Wind.** During Johnson's push for the presidential nomination at the 1960 Democratic National Convention, Connally again proved his loyalty by circulating questioning stories about John Kennedy's health and raising the issue of Joseph Kennedy's isolationist sentiments before the war. Nonetheless, after Kennedy was elected, he appointed Connally Secretary of the Navy, partly to please Vice President Johnson. Within a year Connally quit and returned to Texas, where in 1962 he successfully ran for Governor. He served until 1968, when he declined to run for a fourth term, telling friends he had had his fill of state politics.

Even Connally's friends do not claim that he was an exceptional Governor. He saw no impropriety in accepting a plane for his official use from Texas Eastern Transmission Corp., a leading gas pipeline company with interests in oil. He was the first Governor to veto a war-on-poverty project. He was an indifferent executive, bored by the daily routines of office. A former staffer remembers: "John would come alive when there was a big issue. Otherwise he was content to leave the ship of state to his staff." Connally made few friends among the state's minority groups. Once he refused to meet representatives of a procession of Texas-Mexicans who had walked 350 miles to the state capital to urge him to support a minimum wage law.

He was generally popular with the Texas electorate from the beginning, and he assumed heroic proportions after being badly wounded in the Kennedy assassination. He lost much blood and spent about two months convalescing, but suffered no permanent disability. When Connally left office in 1968, he signed on with one of the leading Texas law firms, Houston's Vinson, Elkins and Sears. Estimates of his earnings ran as high as \$800,000 a year. He was already a wealthy man with an estimated

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worth of between \$2,000,000 and \$5,000,000. He owns the \$300,000 Tortuga Ranch in Southwest Texas. On his 10,000-acre Floresville ranch, complete with two-story mansion, swimming pool and landing strip, he raises a couple of hundred head of cattle.

At 54, Connally has only one big prize left to crave: the U.S. presidency. Many of his intimates believe that his quest for that position is what led him back into Government. He realized that the chances of a liberal Democratic Party choosing as its candidate another Texan—especially one who is more con-

servative than Johnson—are dim indeed. For the moment, all he can do is play out the hand that Nixon has dealt him and wait to see what happens. Connally has told friends that he and Nixon have never discussed the possibility of his taking the No. 2 spot on the ticket. They believe that Connally would accept an invitation if it were tendered, even if he had to switch to the Republican Party. He might have the support of Johnson, who is bitter about the strong antiwar positions of almost all the potential Democratic candidates. Johnson is known to believe that Con-

nally will run with Nixon. The former President could give tacit approval to a Nixon-Connally ticket by sitting out the election and letting Texas' 26 electoral votes fall to the Republicans.

Of course, Nixon does not have to decide on his Veep until next year, probably after the Democratic Convention in July. Any decision that he makes will be greatly influenced by the success or failure of his daring new economic policy. And that, in turn, will depend in no small part on the performance of its chief salesman and administrator, the rising star from Texas.

## Canada: Coping with a Twitchy Elephant

*While Americans focused on Phase II of Nixon's economic program last week, other nations remained deeply distressed by the continuing aspects of Phase I—particularly the surcharge of up to 10% on their exports to the U.S. They fear that a trade war could erupt should Treasury Secretary John Connally overplay his bargaining hand and prolong the surcharge at their expense. No country has been as dismayed by Washington's measures or stands to lose as much as Canada, far and away the U.S.'s best customer and most important supplier. Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau two years ago memorably summed up the two countries' relationship: "Living next to you is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant. No matter how friendly or even-tempered is the beast, if I can call it that, one is affected by every twitch and grunt." Now Canadians have discovered what happens to a bedmate when the elephant starts tossing and turning.*

CANADA is acutely vulnerable to Washington's economic twitches. Fully 13% of Canada's nearly \$90 billion gross national product depends on exports to the U.S. Ottawa estimates that the 10% surcharge, if it is maintained for a year, will cost the country \$900 million in exports and 90,000 jobs—the equivalent of 900,000 in the U.S. Yet unemployment was already running at 6.5% or 455,000 jobs, a higher rate than in the U.S. In Trudeau's words, Canada stands to be "more hurt than any other country" by Washington's trade moves. As a result, U.S.-Canadian relations have sunk to what may be their lowest point since Ottawa's Tories won a 1911 election on the slogan "No truck nor trade with the Yankees."

Trudeau summed up the prevailing mood: "They don't seem to realize what they are doing to Canadians. If they do realize what they are doing and if it becomes apparent that they just want us to be sellers of natural resources to them and buyers of their manufactured products, we will have to reassess fun-

damentally our relations with them, trading, political and otherwise."

Washington of course denies any such intent, although U.S. officials do concede that Canada was hit by a truck that was heading elsewhere—namely to Japan and Western Europe. For his part, Trudeau has turned aside suggestions from the opposition New Democratic Party that Ottawa slap a retaliatory export tax on natural gas, oil and minerals needed in the U.S., or re-

Nixon Administration bills that passed the House of Representatives last week: an investment tax credit of 7% for companies buying equipment made in the U.S. and a bill setting up a Domestic International Sales Corp. DISC, as it is called, would give U.S. companies generous tax benefits to produce items for export inside the U.S., thus eliminating any incentive to expand their foreign subsidiaries. Since roughly half of Canadian manufacturing is U.S.-owned, Ottawa fears that the bill, if it passes the Senate, could calamitously slow down Canada's economic growth.

Ottawa is also disturbed by Washington's increasingly hard line on the 1965 auto pact between the two countries, which was designed to integrate car manufacturing and let Canadians build as many autos as they buy. It has worked more to Canada's advantage than anyone expected, helping to turn Canada's long-standing trade deficits with the U.S. into a \$1 billion surplus last year (though such items as interest payments and dividends to U.S. corporations tipped the overall balance the other way, to a deficit for Canada of \$60 million). The pact contains so-called "transitional" safeguards for Canada that Washington is now anxious to abolish. Ottawa is willing to negotiate but not under duress.

The result has been a growing irritation on both sides. Trudeau may face a general election next year, and any party might find it tempting to ride to power on anti-Americanism—directed largely at U.S. corporations' \$17 billion of direct investment in Canada. Perhaps some of that feeling will dissipate when the surcharge is removed, if it does not remain in effect too long. In addition, Nixon plans to visit Ottawa next spring; the trip could serve, as did his meeting with Emperor Hirohito in Anchorage, as a symbolic reaffirmation of U.S. good will. But such is the disrepair of the once easy relationship between Ottawa and Washington that it will take more than symbols to convince Canadians that the U.S. is not out to improve its trade at the direct expense of its closest economic partner.



PRIME MINISTER TRudeau

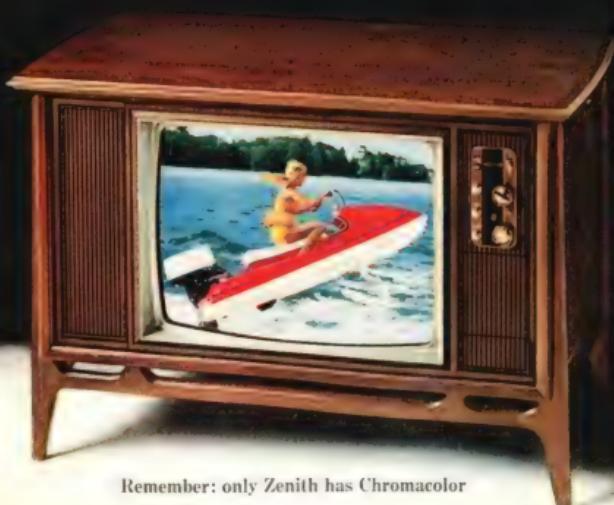
strict dividend payments to U.S. parent companies. He has settled on a milder response: a bill, passed by Parliament two weeks ago, setting up an \$80 million kitty to aid hard-hit firms in maintaining their employment rolls. The danger is that if Canadian companies use that money to cut their export prices, Washington must by law retaliate with countervailing duties—which in turn would further exacerbate relations between the two countries.

When the surcharge is finally lifted, Canada stands to benefit from both a pickup in the U.S. economy and the revaluation of other currencies, especially the Japanese yen. Of far greater concern to Ottawa at the moment are two

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## LIME ROCK, CONN.

Javelin wins first event  
of Trans-Am season by five laps.

## EDMONTON, CANADA

Donohue drives Javelin  
to second victory  
over Mustang and Camaro.

## DONNYBROOKE, MINN.

Javelin finishes first and second,  
gains point lead for season.

## ELKHART LAKE, WIS.

Leading all the way,  
Javelin wins over Mustang  
and Camaro at Road America.

## ST. JOVITE, CANADA

Donohue and Javelin  
take fourth consecutive  
triumph at Le Circuit.

## WATKINS GLEN, N.Y.

World-famous course  
is scene of Javelin's  
sixth Trans-Am win.

## IRISH HILLS, MICH.

Javelin makes it six in a row,  
seven out of nine to clinch championship  
at Michigan International Speedway.

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Mark Donohue drove this specially modified Javelin-AMX to the SCCA Trans-American Road Racing Series Championship.



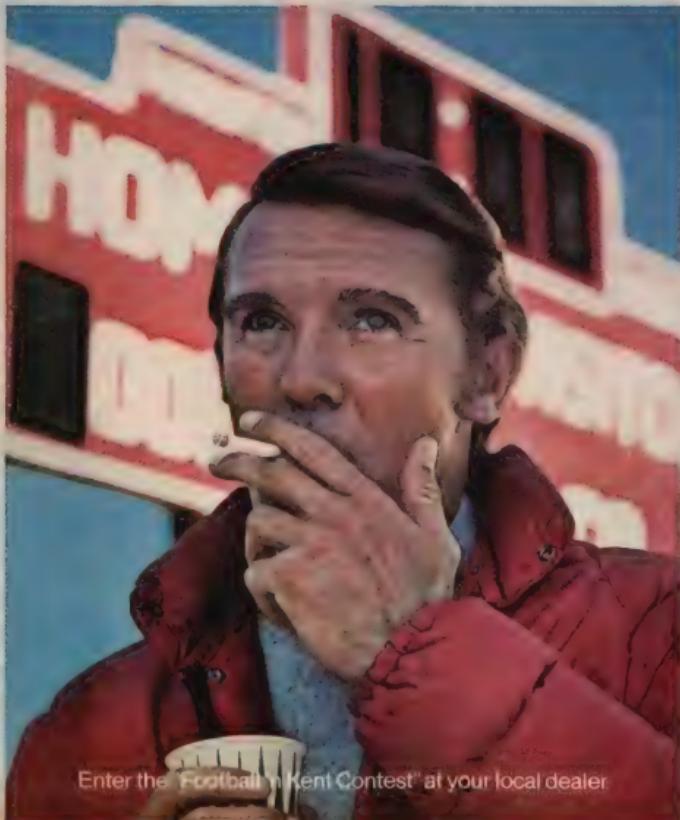
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# THE NATION

## AMERICAN NOTES

### Toward Z.P.G.

The National Center for Health Statistics reported last week that the American fertility rate dropped in July to the lowest monthly level since the late 1930s. While the birth rate is still 2.5 per couple—4 above the optimum sought by advocates of zero population growth—the figures suggested that the concept of family planning is taking firmer hold.

Some population experts theorize that the declining economy, together with rising costs for health services and education, has led many young couples to postpone marriage and children. Birth control and environmental campaigns against the population explosion have also had an effect. Liberalized abortion laws in 17 states have brought down the birth rate. University of Chicago Sociologist Donald J. Bogue has another suggestion. Among other things, says Bogue, a world in which the young reject their parents, use drugs and break laws may make parenthood seem simply less inviting than it once was.

### Days of Rest

Some 500 U.S. business and industrial firms have been experimenting with a four-day work week—an inventive concept that reconciles the work ethic with the leisure culture. For ten weeks during the summer, the Chicago-based Zenith Life Insurance Co. tried a four-day, 35-hour routine, with half of its 33 employees working Monday through Thursday, 8 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., the other half Tuesday through Friday. Now Zenith has pronounced the plan a startling success and made the arrangement permanent. Recruiting is easier, absenteeism reduced, overtime pay decreased and employee morale vastly improved.

The four-day plan has yielded unusual payoffs in other areas. For the past two months, the Pontiac, Mich., 150-man police department has been on a four-day week of ten-hour days. Response time on emergency calls is down, arrests have increased by 9%, and absenteeism has been cut by 16%. The ten-hour days allow for overlapping shifts,

thus concentrating police coverage during high-crime hours.

If four-day schedules become a national routine, presumably various three-day "weekends" will have to be staggered throughout the week to ease pressure on already overburdened recreational facilities. In an increasingly secularized society, what began as the Sabbath will be turning into Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday "weekends."

### Teaching by Horoscope

The president of the New York City board of education last week suggested a novel teacher's aid: astrology. At an educational forum, Isaiah E. Robinson said that "if astrology is correct," some classroom problems of misbehavior may be caused by pupils whose birth signs conflict with those of other children, or possibly their teachers. It may be, Robinson suggested, that teachers should take the planets into consideration to understand the kids better. Presumably, a Taurian heaving erasers is an Aquarian may have his cosmic reasons.

## After Saigon, Peking Ahead

**WASHINGTON** was relieved. The embarrassing one-sided presidential election in South Viet Nam was finally over. Whatever the condition of democracy in that battered land, President Nguyen Van Thieu, the man whom the U.S. considers the best bet for stability, seemed firmly in charge. The Nixon Administration was only too eager to turn its attention from Saigon's problems to other more portentous matters: post-freeze economic plans and the return of National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger to Peking late this month to make final arrangements for Richard Nixon's visit to that long-forbidden city.

"Don't Tell Me." Indeed, the Administration has fallen into the habit of talking as though the war in Viet Nam were already over. Nixon is fond of repeating, almost casually, the claim that "we are ending the longest war in the history of the U.S." Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird not long ago started top aides at the outset of his weekly military briefing by ordering: "Don't tell me about Viet Nam now. I don't want to hear about it until the end." Viet Nam always used to be first on his agenda. Now U.S. officials seem confident that the South Vietnamese military forces can withstand Communist pressure as U.S. troop

levels decline. They even speak wistfully of how military victory might have been within reach.

Unfortunately, Thieu's high-handed re-election tactics botched the Administration's plan for a graceful exit from Viet Nam. Nixon had hoped to be able to point to the election as evidence that democracy is taking hold in South Viet Nam. Now, almost no one in Washington believes Saigon's figures on either the high voter turnout (87.7%) or Thieu's vote of confidence (94.3%). Nixon merely noted that "the road toward democracy and contested elections is a long and hard one." Almost apologetically, he argued that Thieu's unchallenged victory was no reason to cut off U.S. aid, since two-thirds of the 91 nations now getting U.S. funds also show little taste for political competition.

**Sigh of Relief.** However disappointed he is in the Saigon election charade, Nixon is apparently not going to change course. In November he is expected to announce a stepped-up withdrawal rate that will bring the U.S. involvement down from 213,900 troops now present to a residual force of about 40,000 by next spring. The men who remain will be mostly logistical troops and Air Force personnel. At that level, Administration leaders contend, the war



NIXON & KISSINGER  
Mysterious talk of historic events.

will no longer be a big issue in U.S. politics. "No one will get worked up about it any more," argues one State Department official. "Everyone will just sigh with relief that we got out." The Administration's confidence that the war is no longer much of a problem politically has been reinforced by the waning influence of congressional doves.

**Easy Up, Hard Down.** The temptation to link Nixon's Peking trip to the possibility of a negotiated settlement in Viet Nam is being deliberately discouraged by Washington officials. It would be naive, they say, to expect Chinese Premier Chou En-lai to exert pressure on Hanoi to make concessions to the U.S. By merely agreeing to sit down with Nixon while the U.S. is involved in battle with Communist forces, Chou is straining China's relations with North Viet Nam. Any pressure from Peking might cause Hanoi to turn to Moscow for more help in its long struggle to dominate South Viet Nam.

Still unanswered in all of the speculation over the Peking trip is precisely what the U.S. can expect to gain from a Chou-Nixon meeting. The Administration modestly insists that it seeks only a "normalization of relations" between the two powers. This presumably would include exchanges of trade missions, scholars and journalists, plus some means of regular government-to-government communication, short of formal diplomatic recognition. That package in itself would be a significant breakthrough after a quarter-century of virtual noncommunication. Yet Nixon has long warned that summity is a dubious tactic unless the expectations it usually creates can be fulfilled. He undoubtedly would agree with a Chinese

saying that can apply to political as well as geographical peaks: "Easy to climb up, hard to get down."

So suspicion persists that Nixon may have something more specific in mind than merely enhancing his re-election prospects with the trip's inevitable harvest of publicity. One remote chance is that Nixon might try to coax China into joining a multinational conference on easing tensions throughout Southeast Asia, including Laos and Cambodia as well as Viet Nam. That would permit the U.S. to leave Viet Nam with less of an implication that it was forced out, or was deserting any of its Asian allies. However, Hanoi is a block to such an arrangement; it has repeatedly refused to consider any such regional negotiations. Other, even more distant possibilities include the signing of a non-aggression pact between Washington and Peking, or an agreement by both powers to renounce the use of force in any dispute in Asia. Either kind of agreement would seem to offer Peking no particular advantage and would tie its hands militarily in its avowed determination to regain control of Taiwan. Moreover, either would be taken as an unnecessary friendly gesture toward the U.S. by Peking's allies in Hanoi and North Korea—and Peking has no desire to give the U.S.S.R. any greater influence in those two nations along its own borders.

**Fatal Blow.** There are other accommodations that can more reasonably be expected to result from Nixon's trip. For one thing, longstanding friction between the U.S. and China over the status of Taiwan could be eased. By the time Chou and Nixon meet, the U.N. controversy over whether to admit Peking at the expense of ousting Taipei will

EXHIBIT UNITED FEATURE SYNDICATE



probably have been settled. Last week the U.S. gave the appearance of fighting desperately to keep Taiwan from being excluded. Secretary of State William Rogers even warned some delegates that Congress might cut off U.S. financial support of the U.N. if the vote goes against Taiwan. Given the U.N.'s frail financial structure, such a blow could prove fatal. Yet other delegates say that the U.S. is not serious about its pro-Taiwan stand. They contend that Kissinger's return to Peking at about the time of the U.N. vote makes the U.S. devotion to Taipei seem unconvincing.

Once the U.N. matter is out of the way, Nixon could assure Chou that the U.S. recognizes the indivisibility of China and considers the Peking-Taipei struggle an internal Chinese issue. There are limits to how far Nixon can go, however. The U.S. can hardly be expected to renounce its defense treaty with Taiwan, although it might gradually reduce its military support to Chiang if the mainland Chinese do not push the matter too hard or too fast. Nixon is also expected to try to allay Peking's fear that the U.S. might encourage a Soviet nuclear strike against China or in any way abet a resurgence of militarism in Japan.

**Unusual Aside.** At a time of Nixonian surprises and the continuing confusion in China (see *THE WORLD*), the outcome of Sino-American summity remains difficult to predict. Secretary of State William Rogers and Kissinger are both downplaying expectations, while the President, oddly enough, keeps them alive. In an unusual aside during his brief television talk on the economy, Nixon declared that 1972 "can be a year in which historic events will take place on the international scene, events that could affect the peace of the world in the next generation, even in the next century." His listeners could not be blamed if they thought that his sweeping statement referred less to international monetary matters than to Nixon's Peking trip, which now seems likely to occur some time around New Year's Day of 1972.



G.I. IN TANK AT TAY NINH  
In Washington, the war seemed already over.

## LABOR

### Decision on the Docks

For the first time in his presidency, Richard Nixon was moved to use the Taft-Hartley Act. Despite his longstanding reluctance to interfere in labor disputes, he sent Justice Department attorneys into federal court last week to stop the 98-day strike by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union that had shut down every port on the West Coast. The economic impact gave him no choice. Citing the "irreparable injury" of the strike, Government lawyers were granted a temporary restraining order. This week the court will consider a permanent injunction that would impose an 80-day cooling-off period.

Longshoremen also struck East and Gulf Coast ports two weeks ago, but the walkout in the West had already gone on much longer with more serious consequences. The 15,000 striking I.L.W.U. members had idled 249 ships at a cost of about \$2 billion. Feed grains, furniture, machinery and even Christmas trees destined for Viet Nam had piled up near the docks: ships carrying bicycles and Scotch were anchored in the ports. Ma-

hedding in return for more job security and fringe benefits. Because of his new stance, Bridges is now under attack from militants within the union. Alarmed over the decline in jobs on the docks, they have insisted that the I.L.W.U. be given jurisdiction over loading the huge containers now used to carry ship-borne cargo. Since the Teamsters already have jurisdiction over many of these jobs, the I.L.W.U. forced a strike to decide the issue. But the shippers' Pacific Maritime Association refuses to choose between the two unions: the I.L.W.U. refuses to accept arbitration; and so the strike goes on. Tempers are not expected to cool very fast during the cooling-off period.

On the East Coast, shippers are no more anxious for Nixon to intervene than they were in the West. The 45,000 striking members of the International Longshoremen's Association, on the other hand, insist that the shippers have locked them out; they would welcome an order to return to work. It was the shippers who forced the strike when the three-year contract expired two weeks ago. New York shippers served notice on the I.L.A. local that they would no longer accept the contract definition of a guaranteed annual wage. They insisted that they were being driven into bankruptcy. By guaranteeing every union member 2,080 hours of work a year at \$4.60 an hour, they had expected to lay out an extra \$13 million annually. Instead, they found themselves paying \$30 million. They charged that an overly generous decision by labor mediators had enabled union members to draw wages without working. Last year, in fact, they paid for 40 million man-hours of work when actual work done amounted to 28 million.

**Jealous Independence.** The I.L.A., which once branded the Taft-Hartley Act a "slave labor" law, would only be too happy to see it invoked now. It would restore the status quo—that is, the guaranteed wage—for the cooling-off period. But the strike has not yet hurt enough to force the President's hand. Knowing it was coming, shippers avoided routing cargo to U.S. ports. It will be at least a month before outbound cargo starts piling up on the docks.

Before that happens, the Administration expects an erosion of union solidarity, which has never been strong among the jealously independent locals of the I.L.A. The issue of the guaranteed annual wage affects New York alone, and longshoremen outside the city are scarcely concerned with the battle to keep it intact. I.L.A. President Thomas Gleason is having a hard time keeping his other locals off the job. He threatens stiff fines if they disobey. But over the years, the New York union has slipped steadily as the city has lost business to Southern and Western ports. Thus the strike is really a test of how much power a shrinking local in a decaying port can still muster.



I.L.A. PICKETS IN NEW YORK  
Hoping to cool off.

ajor importers estimated that the work stoppage had reduced their annual volume of sales by 15%, and West Coast politicians had bombarded Nixon with demands that he intervene.

From *Anathema to Statesman*. He might have responded sooner but for the fact that shippers had cautioned him to keep hands off. They were worried that I.L.W.U. President Harry Bridges might lose control of his union if the Federal Government got involved. Once anathema to management because of his fiery radicalism and flirtation with Communism, Bridges is now respected as a labor statesman. In recent years he has agreed to eliminate fea-

## POLITICS Backfire on Crime

During his last presidential campaign, Richard Nixon denounced "the wave of crime" that he said was sweeping the country. What was needed, he said, was "leadership that will place this problem as the first priority of American business." The Republican nominee characterized Attorney General Ramsey Clark as "soft on crime" and a "coddler of criminals." A new man at the Department of Justice, Nixon proclaimed, was needed "if we are to restore order and respect for law in this country." Republicans everywhere blamed the permissiveness of Democratic Administrations for rising crime rates.

That was 1968. Now, three years later, Nixon's unblushing rhetoric may well be returning to haunt him. Under his Administration, crime has continued to mount. In 1969 the total of reported crimes increased 12% over the previous year, while the four categories of violent crime—murder, rape, robbery, assault—jumped 11%. In 1970 total crime rose another 11%; violent crime increased 12%. Clark's successor, Attorney General John Mitchell, has released

WALTER KENNEDY



MITCHELL  
Getting worse, if slowly.

the FBI statistics for the first half of this year. The figures were no more encouraging: total crime up 7% compared to the same period last year, violent crime up 11%.

With some rather dubious statistical footwork, Mitchell sidestepped the most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the report—that performance has not matched promise. "The continuing upward trend illustrates that crime is still one of our foremost problems," he admitted, "but the decelerating rate of increase provides a basis for cautious optimism." Although crime increased 7% from January through June this year, said Mitchell, that was 4% less than

1970's increase over the year before. In other words, things are getting worse more slowly.

**Deceptive Gains.** The Attorney General pointed out that 50 cities with populations of more than 100,000 reported reductions in the amount of violent crime; last year 34 such cities reported reductions. What is more, Washington, D.C., "the only city over which the Federal Government has jurisdiction," as Mitchell observed, recorded a 16% decrease in serious crime during the first half of 1971. Trouble is, the gains Mitchell reported are like a set of cooked corporate books—deceptive.

A more balanced assessment of crime trends would have to take into account some less agreeable FBI statistics. They report, among other things, a 17% increase in violent crimes in the suburbs during the first six months of this year. They also indicate what Mitchell did not say, that most of the nation's largest cities showed increases in at least one of the four categories of violent crime: two of the cities—New York and Philadelphia—registered increases across the board. Washington, which Mitchell singled out for special praise, had more murders and rapes during the first half of the year than in the same period of 1970, while robberies and assaults declined only slightly. What principally accounted for crime reduction in the District of Columbia were substantial decreases in property crimes: burglary, larceny and auto theft.

**Extraordinarily Inept.** Mitchell's "decelerating rate of increase" is not to be discounted entirely; however misleading, it does represent progress of a sort—if the trend continues. But Nixon and Mitchell can take little credit for the improvement, just as they could not logically blame the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations for the rising crime rates of the early and middle 1960s. Crime is overwhelmingly the concern of local police agencies. Apart from trying to set up a framework of public order, and occasional FBI assistance,

there is little the Federal Government can do to aid local law-enforcement agencies. Since 1968, Washington has been contributing funds to state and local police agencies through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), but the handling of the program has been extraordinarily inept.

The history of the LEAA has been one of waste and mismanagement. A House subcommittee investigation last July turned up testimony that only a fraction of the \$860 million appropriated by Congress as federal anticrime funds had actually reached the local agencies for which the money was intended. One witness described in detail the misuse of LEAA funds in Alabama: for example, \$117,247 earmarked for a police-cadet program was used to pay college tuition for children of high-ranking officials in the state's department of public safety and their friends.

**Boondoggling.** Part of LEAA's difficulties can be attributed to its newness; birth pangs plague any bureaucratic infant. It boasts the fastest-growing budget of any federal agency: LEAA appropriations have jumped from \$63 million in fiscal 1969 to \$699 million in the current fiscal year. The agency also limped along for ten months without a chief administrator. Jerris Leonard, a Mitchell protégé who was less than a smashing success as the Justice Department's civil rights chief, finally moved over to run LEAA last April. Still, the one channel through which the Administration could have made a substantial contribution to combatting crime has been clogged by bungling and boondoggling.

The Democrats have yet to blast Nixon for his poor performance on crime. One reason is that they are equally short of answers. Once the 1972 presidential campaign begins in earnest, however, it will be awfully tempting for the Democratic nominee to take the President to task, a copy of Nixon's 1968 campaign speeches in one hand, the latest FBI crime statistics in the other.

#### NARCOTICS ARREST IN ILLINOIS



## POLITICAL BRIEFS

### McGovern by Installments

Lonesome George McGovern may have his political problems, but money, the traditional bane of most presidential aspirants, is apparently not one of them. His campaign, which staffers boast is the "best financed" of any Democratic contender, is running \$200,000 in the black, and should become \$300,000 blacked by the end of the year. The reason: a variety of fund-raising gimmicks. McGovern has used direct-mail solicitations overseen by Morris Dees (a Montgomery-based wizard who made his millions in the mail-order business). There have been conventional fund-raising luncheons like one in New York City last week, where 1,350 "Business and Professional Men and Women for McGovern" laid down \$25 apiece to dine on chicken and mushrooms. By far the most novel item in the McGovern moneymen's assorted bag of tricks, though, is the Presidential Club. Its members—some 3,000 thus far—sign up to make monthly contributions of as little as \$10 through July 1972, when the Democrats will convene in Miami Beach. To aid the prospective giver, McGovern's managers thoughtfully offer a time-payment booklet, similar to those issued by friendly finance companies. "For a better America," a note on the booklet's cover advises, "detach another coupon from this booklet and mail it with your monthly contribution." Since April, when the installment plan started, only 7% of the contributors have fallen behind on their payments. The candidate has not yet been repossessed.

### Reaganisms

Sometimes wittingly, sometimes not, California's Governor Ronald Reagan has turned quite a few memorable phrases in his brief political career. Reagan was cracking the quip again when he announced that he would lead a delegation pledged to President Nixon at next year's Republican Convention—and thus forgo the time being any presidential ambitions of his own. Of New York Mayor John Lindsay's plaint that his is the second toughest job in the world, Reagan said that it probably was—"the way he does it." George McGovern, Reagan said, "is testing the water, probably to see if *Teddy can walk on it.*" The Democrats, Reagan concluded, "want to turn the country around: they may not have cured poverty, but they sure cured wealth."

### Who Liberated Whom?

When Edmund Muskie recently told a group of black community leaders in Los Angeles that "if black men were on the ticket, we would both lose," few of the ensuing denunciations were as piously outraged as Richard Nixon's. He scornfully condemned his potential challenger for committing "a libel on the

You expect a big car  
to be plush.  
What impressed me so much  
about the '72 Chrysler  
is the way  
they put it  
together.



I always had heard about Chrysler being famous for engineering. But I had to find out for myself.

I conducted a little survey of my own among Chrysler owners. Friends. Acquaintances. Cab drivers. I never met a more enthusiastic bunch.

Then I went to Detroit. I talked to the Chrysler people. I saw how they build their cars. A few of the things I learned are on this page.



They weld their car bodies together in places where others use bolts. They believe this makes the Chrysler a better car.

After all, the less bolts you use . . . the less chance you have of something coming unscrewed. Think of that next time you go over a pothole.



The New Yorker has always been very plush inside. But what's more important is what they do to make sure it lasts.

The engineers have a thing they call the Bouncing Betty. It's a 168 pound weight they bounce up and down on the seat cushions 100,000 times. That's to make sure the seats are built to take all the times somebody gets in and out of a car. This is the kind of thing that impresses me about Chrysler.



I think the Chrysler New Yorker is a beautiful car. Inside and out. You can see that from the pictures here.

The one thing you can't see is the way it's built.

I watched them put these cars together. And let me say again, they're committed to building all their cars to work better and last longer than ever before. That's where they got their slogan for this year.

Coming through with the kind of car America wants.



 CHRYSLER MOTOR CORPORATION



Marlboro Red  
or Longhorns 100's—  
you get a lot to like.



Come to where  
the flavor is.

Kings: 20 mg "tar," 1.3 mg. nicotine—  
100's: 22 mg. "tar," 1.6 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Nov. 70.

American people." The President apparently forgot that in 1968 he had made a similar comment about the possibility of a Jewish running mate. According to Chicago *Sun-Times* Communist Dave Murray, during a pre-convention off-the-record meeting with several reporters and editors, Nixon was asked whom he would choose as a running mate if he won the nomination. Nixon ran through a list of possibilities—not including Spiro Agnew—and then, according to Murray, someone proposed New York Senator Jacob Javits. Nixon thought hard, recounts Murray, then said no. The country, the President-to-be explained, "isn't ready" to elect a Jew to national office. Now a question arises: Who libeled whom?

## THE ADMINISTRATION

### Romana's Mojados

There is nothing new, or even particularly secret, about the hundreds of thousands of Mexican "wetbacks" (*mujados*, as they are known to their *Chicano* cousins), who have swum the Rio Grande or simply walked into the U.S. at some point along the hundreds of miles of largely unpatrolled border. Nor is there much that the badly undermanned U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service can do about keeping the immigrants out. The "illegals" who are caught—some 320,000 during the last fiscal year—are simply sent back across the border. The people who employ, encourage and often exploit them, are, for all practical purposes, beyond the reach of the law.

Last week, acting on a tip, immigration agents raided Ramona's Mexican Food Products Company, a food processing firm in suburban Los Angeles. According to federal officials, Ramona's is "an indiscriminate employer of illegal aliens." Five times in the last four years the company had been raided, and each time agents had turned up illegal aliens. They were not disappointed the sixth time. After half a dozen immigration men burst through the door, the plant's largely female work force shrieked and started scattering. Eventually, 36 of them were cornered, most of them in the women's rest room. Perhaps an equal number managed to scramble out the exits to freedom.

**Political Conspiracy.** There the matter would have ended, except that the proprietor of Ramona Foods happens to be Mrs. Romana Banuelos, a Mexican-American businesswoman whom Richard Nixon had just nominated to be the 34th Treasurer of the U.S. George K. Rosenberg, director of the Immigration Service's Los Angeles office and the man who called the raid, said he did not know Mrs. Banuelos' identity until after the raid was over. In any case, noted Rosenberg, he had sent a routine letter to Ramona Foods in August 1969, warning the company to stop employing illegal aliens.

Mrs. Banuelos, who began by mak-

ing tortillas 22 years ago and has built her operation into a \$6 million business, saw the affair quite differently. She claimed never to have received Rosenberg's letter; her workers were well treated, she said, although she admitted that she never inquired into their nationality. The whole thing, she insisted, was "part of an attempt by Democrats to block my nomination as Treasurer of the U.S."

Mrs. Banuelos' bland assertion that she had been the victim of a political conspiracy seemed preposterous. But TIME's Eleanor Hoover learned that the choice of Mrs. Banuelos' plant was no accident. The tipster, Hoover reports, was Harry Bernstein, the respected labor editor of the Los Angeles *Times* and a recent crusader against illegal aliens. The day before the raid, Bernstein phoned Rosenberg and told him of the aliens at the Banuelos plant. Bernstein did not tell Rosenberg who the president of the company was, or where he himself had received his information. Gratefully, Rosenberg invited Bernstein along on the raid, and allowed him to bring a *Times* photographer.

**Insubordination.** Bernstein's tipster was Noel Doran, a 15-year employee of the Immigration Service, who is also vice president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. American Federation of Government Employees. Doran had singled out Mrs. Banuelos' plant because a raid there would get national attention. That way, he says, "the American people could really know the facts about the illegal alien situation in this country." When Rosenberg learned the story behind the raid, he upbraided Doran for insubordination. Later the Immigration Service revealed it had received another tip that there were as many as 100 more *mujados* still working for Banuelos. But any further raids were being postponed for "lack of manpower."

Mrs. Banuelos disclaimed any intention of withdrawing her name from consideration for U.S. Treasurer, nor did the White House seem ready to change its mind, despite rumblings from Capitol Hill. Richard Nixon had good reason to be annoyed with the FBI, which had looked into Mrs. Banuelos' background and apparently failed to find out about the previous raids. But the President, of all people, knows how easy it is for a *mujado* to go undetected. Before he was nabbed by FBI men, Francisco Martinez Llamas, an illegal Mexican alien, worked for two days last summer as a gardener on the grounds of the Western White House at San Clemente.



MRS. ROMANA BANUELOS



ALIENS ROUNDED UP AT RAMONA FOODS PLANT  
A plot—but by whom?

## A Western Explorer Heads for Moscow

**I**t is probably one of the most difficult jobs in modern diplomatic history. "It makes the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks look like a kindergarten scene," says a top official of the U.S. State Department. The job is to lay the groundwork for a proposed conference between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact nations to bring about the reduction of armed forces in Europe. Earlier this year, Soviet Party Leader Leonid Brezhnev surprised the West by suddenly endorsing its longstanding proposal for such troop cutbacks. NATO, suggested Brezhnev, should try tasting "the wine" of Moscow's intentions. Last week, at a Deputy Foreign Ministers' meeting in Brussels, NATO chose a man to do just that: Manlio Brosio, 74, the meticulous Italian diplomat who retired as NATO's Secretary-General last month after serving for seven years in the post.

**Only the Beginning.** A self-effacing, unemotional and uncommonly aloof man, Brosio is expected to leave for Moscow before mid-November to "explore" the situation, accompanied by a lean staff of no more than four or five technical experts. His mandate, as one NATO official put it, is "to taste the wine, but not to drink it"—to ask questions about Soviet intentions but not to negotiate. Though the Kremlin considers Brosio a hard-lining cold warrior because of his long service to NATO, he has stressed the importance of *détente*. "The Soviet Union views *détente* as a permanent struggle short of war," he said earlier this year. "The allies must press for their own kind of *détente*—*modus vivendi* in Berlin and Germany, the reduction of armed confrontation in Central Europe, economic cooperation, and the freer movement of people and ideas."

The central problem that Brosio must

deal with is the present balance of power in Europe. In the East, the Warsaw Pact countries have 2,300,000 troops, 1,700,000 of them Russian; the NATO powers have 2,100,000 troops, only 300,000 of them American. The huge imbalance in numbers between Soviet and U.S. troops is only one factor. Another important element is the geographic gap: while Russian troops can withdraw from Central Europe by pulling back only 300 or so miles, the Americans must cross the 3,000-mile Atlantic to do so. Since the "negotiable" U.S. troops in Europe are fewer and have farther to withdraw than the Russians, the U.S. insists on an "asymmetrical reduction" rather than a one-to-one cutback.

This is only the beginning of Brosio's problem. NATO members in the Baltic and Mediterranean regions are afraid that any troop reduction in Central Europe would simply release a flood of Russian troops to put pressure on NATO's northern and southern flanks (see box opposite). Then there is the matter of the 329,000-man French army, which is outside Brosio's domain. France was the only one of the 15 NATO powers that did not endorse Brosio's mission, making it clear that the Italian explorer is in no way empowered to speak on its behalf.

**Western Doubts.** The Soviets are rather reluctant to deal with an explorer rather than a negotiator and one who, moreover, represents 14 diverse clients. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko emphasized to U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers two weeks ago that "it would be better all around" if Washington and Moscow negotiated force reductions bilaterally. But Rogers, acutely aware that Washington's allies are already nervous about the bilateral SALT talks, insisted that the troop cutbacks be worked out by all of the NATO countries.



NATO'S MANLIO BROSIO  
*Taste the wine, but don't drink it.*

The whole question of East-West negotiations is complicated by doubts about the Soviet Union's sincerity in pursuing *détente*. On the one hand, there have been several indications that Moscow is genuinely interested in untangling some of the knottier East-West problems—SALT, the recent preliminary Berlin agreement and perhaps eventually negotiations on limiting Soviet and U.S. military assistance to other nations. Yet at the same time, the Soviets are mounting a long-range military buildup that could, in the next several years, drastically alter the prevailing balance of power. Pentagon sources point out that

*Continued on page 40*

SUBMARINE OF RUSSIA'S NORTHERN FLEET



## The Soviet Threat to NATO's Northern Flank

ON the bleak coast of the Barents Sea, where the Soviet Union shares a common border with Norway near the roof of the world, the Norwegian defense force of 400 men is frequently witness to a disturbing scene. They watch on radar as the Soviets practice assaults on the coast of their Kola Peninsula, some 300 miles away. In the Soviet war games, the attacking force is always victorious and the defenders are always defeated.

That spectacle points up a growing Soviet threat to the northern flank of NATO, which extends from Norway's North Cape to West Germany's Baltic coast (see map). NATO's northern command is outnumbered by the Soviets four-to-one on the ground, seven-to-one in aircraft and six-to-one in ships in the north. "The Russians are very busy displaying raw military power on the northern flank," reports TIME Correspondent John Muliiken, who recently toured the region. "It is a significant example of how the Soviets intend to use the pressure of their operational armed forces to achieve their political policies in the 1970s and 1980s."

The Russians' overwhelming military predominance in the northern flank is most evident in the icy waters of the area. Since the Soviet navy launched a massive buildup after the 1962 Cuban crisis, it has become, as *Jane's Fighting Ships* notes, "the supernavy of a superpower." Moscow's growing strength at sea has long since been noted in the Mediterranean and in the Indian Ocean. But the fact is that the northern fleet, the smallest in the Soviet navy at the end of World War II, is now the biggest—the superfleet of a supernavy.

Operating out of ice-free Murmansk, the northern fleet has an estimated 560 ships, including 160 submarines, more than 65 of them nuclear-powered (but not counting sizable forces in the Baltic, plus the East German and Polish navies). By contrast, the entire U.S. Atlantic Fleet has 358 ships, of which 40 to 50 are assigned to the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. Since 1968, the U.S. command has been cut back 25% in ships and 19% in men, and it is scheduled to lose another ten ships by next summer. Says Norway's Rear Admiral Magne Braaflund: "The threat to the U.S. is not coming from Viet Nam and not from Central Europe either. It is sailing from Murmansk."

At a time of tentative *détente* in Europe, the Soviet threat is posed not in the stark terms of war but in the gray area of geopolitics. As Defense Secretary Melvin Laird put it: "If the Russians have a superior military force, they can gain their political objectives throughout the world without the use of weapons. There is no military ad-

vantage to overkill, but the political gains are tremendous." British Prime Minister Edward Heath outlined this gloomy scenario in a recent speech to the House of Commons: "The Soviets may calculate that eventually the sheer disparity of military strength would leave Western Europe with no convincing strategy. Political pressure, shrewdly applied and backed by the threat of greatly superior military force, could compel one of the more exposed members of the alliance to lapse into neutrality. Then a process of disintegration could begin which would lead to the ultimate price, an extension of the Soviet sphere

of influence. On a "good-will" call in Copenhagen last August, Soviet Vice Admiral L.V. Mizhkin, deputy commander of the Soviet Baltic fleet, pointedly complained that an American cruiser had shown up in the Baltic Sea, and that West Germany had intensified its naval exercises there. The Soviets are on the verge of achieving their most concrete gain to date in Iceland, which is known as "the cork in the bottle" for the entire northern tier of NATO's defenses. From Iceland, U.S. Navy aircraft keep track of Russian craft moving through the Faeroe Channel and the Denmark Strait—including subs carrying Polaris-



of influence gradually into countries at present members of [NATO], and if possible, to the Atlantic."

That pressure is already being applied to Norway, the most exposed country on NATO's northern flank. For the past decade, the Soviet navy has staged big exercises in the Norwegian Sea, making the point that Norway, with no land connection to the rest of NATO, is at the mercy of whichever country rules the waves. Johan Jorgen Holst, research director of the Norwegian Foreign Policy Institute, warns that the Soviets intend "to push their naval defense line outwards to Iceland and the Faeroes," which could turn the Norwegian Sea into what he calls "a Soviet lake."

To a lesser degree, the Soviets have made a similar point with Denmark, whose NATO task in any conflict would be to mine the exit from the Baltic—a move that would require approval from the Danish Parliament. The Soviets now regard the Baltic as virtually a Com-

munist sea. On a "good-will" call in Copenhagen last August, Soviet Vice Admiral L.V. Mizhkin, deputy commander of the Soviet Baltic fleet, pointedly complained that an American cruiser had shown up in the Baltic Sea, and that West Germany had intensified its naval exercises there. The Soviets are on the verge of achieving their most concrete gain to date in Iceland, which is known as "the cork in the bottle" for the entire northern tier of NATO's defenses. From Iceland, U.S. Navy aircraft keep track of Russian craft moving through the Faeroe Channel and the Denmark Strait—including subs carrying Polaris-

type missiles targeted on U.S. cities. Last July the new coalition government of Iceland, which includes two Communist Ministers, asked the Americans to depart from their strategically important Keflavik base. Negotiations on the request have yet to begin, however, and they could take up to four years before resulting in any move.

To remain a plausible deterrent, NATO depends on a strategy of rapid reinforcement in time of crisis. Yet if Norway or Iceland were threatened, it would take an estimated ten days to two weeks for U.S. reinforcements to reach the northern flank, ten to 20 days for Britain's troops, and 30 days for Canada's. That assumes, of course, that they could even reach their destination through waters controlled by the Soviet northern fleet. Thus the real threat posed by Russia's dominance in the northern seas is to NATO's credibility and perhaps, in the end, to the alliance's unity.

the Russians have quietly been modernizing and building up their air force and ground units as well as their navy and missile arsenal, which have gotten most of the attention. The State Department believes that the Soviets are in an expansionist mood. What worries U.S. policymakers is that despite Moscow's mood, Congress will continue pressing for a partial but unilateral American troop withdrawal from Europe.

**Vague Threat.** The Russians are aware of Washington's problems and can thus be expected to stall on convening a conference. Meanwhile, Moscow is pressing for another conference, this one on European security, probably to be held some time next year. Such a conference would serve Soviet ends by formalizing the status quo in Eastern Europe and the separation of the two Germanys, encouraging an atmosphere of relaxation in Western Europe and increasing pressure within the U.S. to bring the boys home. The U.S. sees a security conference as a Soviet-inspired propaganda measure, but Washington has indicated that once the Berlin question is resolved, it would have no objection to the conference—provided, of course, that the U.S. and Canada are invited.

But is the Berlin question resolved? Observers have been predicting that a final Big Four agreement could be ready by early next year. Two weeks ago, however, Gromyko hinted that Moscow would not sign a Berlin agreement until West Germany ratified the nonaggression treaties that Chancellor Willy Brandt signed last year with the Soviet Union and Poland. Brandt has made it clear that he will not press for ratification of the two pacts until a final Berlin settlement has been reached. In all likelihood, Gromyko's vague threat was merely an oblique reminder to the West Germans that Moscow would like to see the treaties ratified as soon as possible.

## CHINA Alive and Well in Peking

Time and again, Mao Tse-tung has dropped out of sight for extended periods, only to make a dramatic reappearance—swimming in the Yangtze River, standing atop the Gate of Heavily Peace in Peking, greeting a visiting dignitary. Last week, after yet another tantalizing absence, Mao was back again, this time to welcome Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie to Peking. As one of the 27 aides who accompanied the Lion of Judah told it, the Chairman seemed in the pink. Mao "was smiling and waved his arms to greet his royal visitor," he reported. As the two leaders began their private 105-minute talk, Mao was "in a very good mood, ready to make jokes."

It was Mao's first public appearance since early August, and it scuttled, once again, speculation that he might be dead or gravely ill. Nonetheless, the materialization of Mao only served to complicate the mysteries that have enveloped Peking since early last month—notably the sudden cancellation of the Oct. 1 National Day parade.

**Champion Pragmatist.** Most analysts remain convinced that the events reflect a sharp policy debate. Almost certainly, the debate involves the coalition of moderate army and government leaders who hold most of the levers of power in China these days and the fire-breathing leftist radicals who blossomed during the Cultural Revolution. The fact that twelve out of the 21 members of the Politburo have not been active in public for at least a month suggests that the struggle is being waged at the very top levels of government. All along, however, Peking has been working hard to dispel suspicions that Mao's regime is in turmoil, or even paralysis. That may be one reason why the Chinese were so ready to accept and announce Henry Kissinger's impending second visit to Peking.

Nevertheless, something was obviously amiss. Five weeks ago, just after a Chinese jet with nine aboard crashed mysteriously deep in Mongolia, the entire Chinese air force was abruptly grounded; with rare exceptions, it still is. The three top military chiefs, including Army Boss Huang Yung-sheng, one of the leading scourges of the radical left, have not been seen in more than a month. The most visible man in Peking these days is durable Premier Chou En-lai, the champion of the pragmatists. Last week, in a meeting with a diverse group of 70 Americans—among them Black Panther Huey Newton and Old China Hand John S. Service—at the Great Hall of the People, Chou pointedly invoked Mao's name in defending China's recent approaches to the U.S.

**No Sense.** But Chou's high profile does not necessarily mean that the moderates have won out. After Chou, the liveliest figure on the Peking scene nowadays is Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, the reddest of the Red Guard leaders during the Cultural Revolution. For nearly two years she was out of the limelight. But the current issue of the English-language propaganda magazine *China Pictorial* features eleven color photographs reportedly taken by the multifaceted Mme. Mao. One was an unusual portrait of Mao's long-missing heir apparent, Lin Piao. Lin, who was last seen in June, was pictured reading the Chairman's Little Red Book—but without the army cap that he almost always wears to hide his balding head.

China watchers do not even pretend to make sense of all the disappearances, reappearances and grounded planes. Chinese officials are advising Western diplomats: "Rather than speculate, wait. Before long, you will understand." The solution of the puzzle may not appear, however, until the long-postponed National People's Congress is convened—and no date for it has been announced.



HAILE SELASSIE & MAO

*The sudden materialization only served to complicate the mysteries.*



HUEY NEWTON & CHOU



## Can a person under 30 appreciate the Oldsmobile Ninety-Eight?

Not likely. Their time will come, but not before they've really worked at it for awhile. Growing into the Ninety-Eight isn't something that happens overnight.

**Living rooms on wheels.**  
Youth has always scoffed at the big cars, calling them rolling palaces. Or living rooms on wheels. Sooner or later the scoffing stops and one begins to see what the Ninety-Eight is all about.

Everything is so comfortable inside, including the ride. To find out how rough the road is, you have to look. You're supported by 6 inches of contoured foam in the front seat, as you drive. Armrests and ashtrays surround you. Power steering and power brakes, with discs up front, are standard.

The Ninety-Eight is indeed an elegant living room on a 127-inch wheelbase. In some ways, it's even more comfortable than your living room.

**A whisper, not a whooosh.**  
Remember when you "cracked" the car window to get outside air and it always whoooshed inside? The Ninety-Eight has turned the whooosh to a whisper with a far better way of bringing in the air. And power ventilation circulates it continuously, whether the car is rolling up the miles or standing at a stoplight.

### Working within the environment.

This year's Ninety-Eight 455 Rocket V-8 emits, on the average, 80% less hydrocarbons and 65% less carbon monoxide than engines of 10 years ago. So we can all breathe a little easier.

Within the Ninety-Eight itself, a long list of GM safety features is provided for your protection. Some, like the seat and shoulder belts, are visible; but many more, like the steel side-guard beams in the doors, are not.

**A different kind of power.**  
When you were younger, a car that didn't lurch and rumble dramatically was devoid of power or status. The 1972 Ninety-Eight neither lurches nor rumbles; you can scarcely hear the engine from the driver's seat. Or feel the incredibly smooth automatic transmission at work. Yet, the Ninety-Eight performs better than anything you drove in your youth, and it does it in a quiet way, which is most satisfying now that your priorities are different.

**A natural progression.**  
The Ninety-Eight is a car you're not likely to drive with the windows down, radio turned up and your elbow sticking out. There's an atmosphere of peace inside—a hospitality you can count on. Urging you to relax—and enjoy. And when you do, you'll find there's far more to a Ninety-Eight for you to enjoy.

**OLDSMOBILE NINETY-EIGHT. QUITE A SUBSTANTIAL CAR.**



**You don't order Ronrico instead of Bacardi just to be different. You know which rum has the bright taste.**

**Ronrico. The Super Rum.**

© 1971 General Wine & Spirits Co., NYC 80 proof

## Sudden Celebrities

When he was a hot-eyed student leader in the 1930s, Westerners in China described him as "a zealous, devoted, incandescent Communist." Now Peking's ambassador to Canada, Huang Hua is radiating a different sort of incandescence. As the first envoy from Mao Tse-tung's regime to set up shop in North America, he has become the most sought-after diplomatic celebrity in the Western Hemisphere.

No invitations in Ottawa are more prized than the ones that come with the embossed gold emblem of the People's Republic of China. For the legions of journalists, scholars, politicos and adventurers (mostly Americans) eager to get to China, the box office is the top two floors of Ottawa's modern twelve-story Juliania apartments, where the 20-man Chinese embassy staff lives and works. Most visa-seeking visitors are lucky if they can get past the intercom in the foyer, where they are told by a polite English-speaking voice to write directly to the Chinese foreign ministry in Peking. Among those who have approached the Juliania embassy for those coveted tickets to China: Leonard Bernstein, Isaac Stern, Eugene McCarthy, George McGovern, Adlai Stevenson III and Teddy Kennedy.

**Social Swath.** The Chinese are hardly unhappy about all the attention. Huang Hua is frequently seen around the capital, riding in his chauffeur-driven Mercedes or strolling across Ottawa's Parliament Hill. This week Huang sets out on a week's tour that will take him to all ten of Canada's provinces.

Ottawa's diplomatic social season has barely begun, but the Chinese have already cut a considerable swath. Nearly 400 guests came to an embassy bash last month to meet the ambassador and his petite wife Ho Li-liang, a severely handsome woman in a man-tailored, dark blue suit and glossy black pumps. Two weeks ago, 350 turned out for the embassy's lavish National Day reception.

Almost every evening, smiling embassy staffers in black Mao suits whisk small groups of dinner guests up to the green-carpeted Juliania penthouse. Before ushering them into an eight-course dinner, Huang might offer them Double Happiness cigarettes from a circular gold tin and a tall, lidded cup of green jasmine tea. As a host, Huang has become known for his determination to keep conversation light and innocuous and for his eagerness to reach out to all sorts of people. But above all, he has become known for his chef, who specializes in the hot, spicy cuisine of Szechwan province. One member of a group of 15 Canadian amateur sportsmen who recently dined at the embassy recalls



HUANG & WIFE GREETING GUESTS  
A busy box office.

that toasts were made "to us, to you, to sport, to friendship between our two countries. Every time we took a sip, they refilled our glasses." But, he adds, "they're pretty careful about how much they drink themselves."

**Busy Student.** At first, the Chinese were startled by high Ottawa prices and offended by the caricatures of Mao Tse-tung that they saw in the political cartoons. Though many staffers are homesick for the parks of Peking, they know that they have an important dual role to perform. On one level they are presenting the image of a reasonable, responsible China that Peking is promoting around the world. On another, Huang Hua is a busy student of the U.S., which could be his next post. American TV is piped into the Juliania penthouse by cable; the embassy takes special care to cultivate contacts who are knowledgeable about the U.S. scene.

So far, of course, those contacts do not include diplomats at the U.S. embassy in Ottawa, which the Chinese do not "recognize." For its part, the U.S. embassy is pretending not to notice Peking's presence. Says one embassy staffer: "We don't even have a man in Ottawa who can speak Chinese."

## SOUTH VIET NAM Too Good to Be True

President Nguyen Van Thieu saw it as "a very good achievement of our people and our nation." The results of South Viet Nam's one-man election were very good indeed—in fact, too good. According to the government, fully 87.7% of the 7.4 million qualified vot-

ers went to the polls last week, and only 5.5% mutilated their ballots to indicate no confidence in the Thieu regime. The President's swollen 94.3% vote ran absurdly far ahead of the 35% that he won in 1967 and the 50% that he had said he would regard as an adequate expression of popular support in this year's balloting. It even surpassed the 89% vote claimed in 1961 by Ngo Dinh Diem, boss of the tough, autocratic regime that was toppled two years later by, among others, a young colonel named Nguyen Van Thieu.

The bloated Thieu vote was clearly unnecessary; without any jiggery-pokery, American observers in Saigon reckoned last week, Thieu could easily have come out of the election with 60% or 70% of the vote. "Maybe Thieu didn't want the results to be so blatantly in his favor," said a Western diplomat in Saigon. "Maybe his province chiefs just got carried away. But if you measure American policy in Viet Nam by that election, it flunked badly."

Perhaps the most surprising thing about the election was the widespread acceptance of the results. Or was it a resigned indifference? Spokesmen for the militantly anti-Thieu, antiwar An Quang Buddhists charged that Thieu had "killed democracy and given birth to dictatorship." Supporters of Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky urged the Vietnamese "not to recognize the faked results." But never before had Thieu seemed more firmly in command. Before the election, when Ky's people were raising ominous visions of post-election catastrophe, the CIA estimated that there was a 40% chance of a post-election coup attempt; now the estimate is closer to zero.

**Ready to Die.** Thieu is not quite home free yet. Though Ky's supporters have filed a taxpayer's suit charging that the election was an unconstitutional fraud, there is little likelihood that the returns will be invalidated by the Supreme Court; after all, Thieu can usually count on the loyalty of six of its nine appointees. Ky's men say that he is "ready to die in the struggle." Since the election, he has been cloistered in his heavily guarded mansion at Saigon's Tan Son Nhut airbase, where he is doubtless trying to map out his uncertain future. On Oct. 31, Thieu will be inaugurated along with his new Veep, Former Senator Tran Van Huong, and Ky will be out of a job.

Meanwhile, Thieu has his own troubles. In coming weeks, decisions will have to be taken on a number of long-delayed measures, including a possible devaluation of the piaster, as the regime faces up to the hard economic realities posed by the U.S. withdrawal. Thieu can only hope that his second term will live up to the incredibly ingenuous assessment delivered by the State Department on his unhappy second election: "a Vietnamese solution to a Vietnamese problem." It was as if the U.S. had never been involved.

## CAMBODIA

### The Year One

The new republic was born amid a chorus of gongs and dancing in the streets. Last week Cambodia celebrated the first anniversary of that event. But despite a much improved military situation in the countryside, there were no festivities. They had been canceled in the wake of a new wave of guerrilla-style attacks on Phnom-Penh, the Cambodian capital. The most dramatic occurred late last month, when sappers struck the city's biggest fuel storage depot, burning 1,750,000 gals. of oil. Two weeks ago five persons were killed, including two Americans, when terrorists tossed two grenades during a U.S. embassy softball game.

As the Khmer Republic enters its second year, two overriding problems face the regime of Premier Lon Nol: a war that has claimed 5,000 Cambodian lives and a rising chorus of domestic critics upset by Phnom-Penh's sluggish response to inflation and corruption.

For all its problems, the government can claim some advances. Last year, with the help of U.S.-sponsored training programs and \$185 million in military aid, Cambodia managed to expand its army from 35,000 ill-trained men to a creditable force of perhaps 180,000. Though U.S. officials do not believe that the army is yet capable of defending the country alone, Cambodian forces last week did succeed in opening up the city of Kompong Thom, which for more than a year had been receiving supplies only by air and water.

Cambodia has been helped immensely, of course, by the North Vietnamese pullback from populated areas into the northeast and east. South Vietnamese troops continued to engage NVA forces along the Cambodia-South Viet Nam border last week, but the operation was viewed largely as a feint in connection with the South's elections. Cambodians are still not happy with the large presence of Vietnamese—from both the North (60,000 troops) and the South (10,000)—on their soil. There have been widespread reports of terrorism, rape, murder and pillaging by South Vietnamese. In an interview with TIME Correspondent Stanley Cloud, Lon Nol acknowledged that his government is negotiating with Saigon for the removal of South Vietnamese troops.

**Change of Address.** Whether the 57-year-old Premier, who is in remarkably good shape after his near-fatal stroke, can handle his political problems as astutely as his military ones is another question. Criticism from the middle class, civil servants, students and intellectuals has not been the whole been directed against him personally. But his response has been harsh. He fired First Vice Premier In Tam and stripped him of his brigadier general's rank. In Tam is widely respected as an incorruptible politician, but Lon Nol apparently feared that he would be an eventual rival.

The shaky state of the economy has much to do with the unrest. During the past year, prices of many commodities have jumped 100% or more. The black-market rate for the *riel* is triple the official rate of 55 to a dollar. Another concern is the apparent affluence being enjoyed by the military. "Corruption has changed its address—from the government to the army," goes a popular saying in Phnom-Penh.

Nonetheless, Lon Nol appears buoyantly confident. "We Khmers have always had two very important things in our favor," he said two weeks ago. "First is our race. Second is our religion. Now we have a third: the way we defend ourselves." With, of course, a little help from their friends.



TITO WATCHING WAR GAMES  
The fastest buildup.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### Every Man a Fighting Man

All week long banner headlines told of the ferocious battles. Yugoslav television carried filmed reports of the fighting and a somber briefing by a major general on each day's action. One big Zagreb daily put out a special battlefield edition for the troops.

For all its realism, it was not a war but a war game—the largest Yugoslav maneuvers since World War II, involving some 40,000 regular army troops and innumerable armed civilians. The exercise, pointedly called "Freedom 71," was designed as a defiant answer to the summer-long Soviet threats and maneuvers against the Yugoslavs. Moscow was furious with Belgrade for cozying up to Peking. The Russians were also hoping to exploit the ancient regional rivalries and not so ancient economic quarrels that plague Yugoslavia.

In hopes of reducing the centrifugal strains on his country, President Tito last July established a collective pres-

idency and granted considerable autonomy to the country's six republics and two provinces. It remains to be seen, however, whether the reforms will keep Yugoslavia together once the unifying presence of Tito, 79, is gone—and lately the Soviets have seemed to be looking for an excuse to intervene. Consequently, though Tito and Leonid Brezhnev exchanged conciliatory pledges in Belgrade last month, the Yugoslavs went right ahead with their maneuvers less than two weeks after the Soviet party leader's departure.

**New Concept.** The main object of the games was to test a new Yugoslav defense concept devised after the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. In a development that has gone almost totally unnoticed abroad, Yugoslavia has quietly carried out the world's fastest buildup of conventional forces. More than 1,000,000 Yugoslav workers between the ages of 18 and 45 have been organized into a new auxiliary territorial army, supplementing the regular armed forces and fully equipped with heavy infantry, antitank and antiaircraft weaponry. By 1973 the number will grow to 3,000,000, giving the country a militia-style defense force more than twice as big as South Viet Nam's People's Self-Defense Force. The new defense system, borrowing heavily from the example of the Partisans in World War II, is designed to turn practically every Yugoslav into a fighter.

**Chalk Talk.** Will the plan work? The war games began with enemy air attacks on towns in a large area southwest of Zagreb. Enemy tanks sliced southward from the direction of Hungary, the scene of recent Warsaw Pact maneuvers and an obvious route for possible Soviet invaders.

The Yugoslav strategy was not to withdraw at once into the country's hills, where Tito's Partisans waged an effective fight against the Italian and German occupiers, but to hit the enemy with a quick, strong counterattack. Accordingly, the regular armed forces used tanks, paratroop drops and Soviet-style massed artillery barrages to block the mock attack. Meanwhile, the territorial defense forces, including youth units composed partly of armed girls, harassed the enemy with sniper fire and staged sabotage raids behind his lines. Some members of the youth brigades got so carried away that they slashed the tires and tore out radios from the enemy vehicles. The Yugoslav chief of staff finally appealed to them to use white chalk marks to indicate equipment that they had "destroyed." On the third day, the defenders mounted a strong counterattack that, in theory at least, routed the aggressor.

The growth of the territorial army has



## A lot of people are competing for the American dollar. Especially the American thief.

One of the American thief's prime targets is the American vacationer. With good reason.

First of all, vacationers often carry large sums of cash with them. Then, they spend a lot of time in crowded public places, where purse snatchers and pickpockets do their best work.

They travel in heavily laden automobiles, inviting the attention of skilled car-breakers who can get into an automobile quicker without a key than most motorists can with their key.

They make life simple for hotel and motel thieves by disregarding all warnings about leaving cash and valuables in their rooms.

And because they're vacationing in their own country, they often neglect to protect their money with American Express Travelers Cheques—protection they would probably insist on if they were going abroad.

Too bad. Those American Express Travelers Cheques could have saved a ruined vacation.

If they're lost or stolen, you can go to the local American Express, subsidiary or representative office—they're all over the U.S. and the world—and get your missing Cheques replaced.

Even on weekends and holidays in the U.S. and western Europe, American Express can arrange an emergency refund of up to \$100 to

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Only American Express gives refunds 365 days a year.

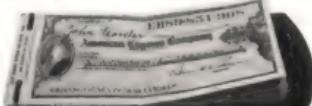
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**THE TRAVELERS CHEQUE  
AMERICAN EXPRESS<sup>SM</sup>  
FOR PEOPLE WHO TRAVEL**

# 297 new ideas for cleaning up the

Listed on these pages are 297 patents of some 595 granted in a one-year period (Feb. 17, 1970 to Feb. 16, 1971) and cited by the Patent Office, U.S. Department of Commerce, as dealing in some way with this country's environmental problems.

According to the Patent Office, all 297 of these anti-pollution ideas have one other thing in common.

*All would require electricity to make them go.*

Of course, no matter which of these eventually prove out, cleaning and preserving the environment is just a part of America's growing need for electricity. A need that the experts say will double in the next ten years.

**Our country's ability to do the work that needs to be done will depend on an adequate supply of electricity. There's no time to waste.**

**New generating facilities must be built, and built in a way compatible with our environment.**

**We'll continue working to do this. But we need your understanding today to meet tomorrow's needs.**

**The people at your Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies.\***

\*For names of sponsoring companies, write to Power Companies, 1345 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10019.

3 495 358 Surface treatment apparatus  
3 495 376 Machine for collecting rubbish and other refuse  
3 495 381 Air filter apparatus  
3 495 439 Analytical apparatus & method for instantaneously recording & reading contaminants in fluent materials  
3 495 440 Air sampler devices  
3 495 458 Apparatus for measuring gas testing apparatus for use in dusty atmospheres  
3 495 555 Plastics incinerator  
3 495 576 Apparatus soft-free combustion ill liquor  
3 495 711 System for treating sewage water using flocculation and aeration as a means thereby

3 495 712 Apparatus for purifying waste water  
3 495 943 Process and apparatus for detection of ionic contaminants  
3 496 097 Treatment of oils to reduce viscosity  
3 496 098 Process for desulfurizing and deodorizing hydrocarbons, especially hydrocarbon oils  
3 496 701 Method and apparatus for removing particulates from flowing gases  
3 496 890 Method of incineration & afterburner incinerator  
3 497 026 Electrical power system  
3 497 027 Electrical automobile  
3 497 062 Waste disposal system  
3 497 064 Aerobic waste system with

pneumatic ejection and chlorination  
3 497 066 Sewage treatment plant  
3 497 328 Treatment of contaminated gases and the like  
3 498 029 Ion exchange process and apparatus for continuous removal of gases  
3 498 032 High capacity low contamination bench  
3 498 077 Atmospheric water recovery method and means  
3 498 240 Lett houses  
3 498 457 Electronic water purifier  
3 498 465 Sewage clarifier system  
3 498 466 Bale support structure for clarifier system  
3 498 467 Sludge scraper for sedimentation basins  
3 498 468 Sedimentation tank  
3 499 264 Method and apparatus for controlling and reducing emissions from cupola furnaces and the like  
3 499 400 Waste combustion system  
3 499 428 Smog retarder apparatus  
3 499 731 High efficiency discharge control system for a chemical processing plant  
3 500 827 Portable environmental control system  
3 501 231 Isolation assembly and method of isolating a burning same  
3 501 999 Constant-flow air sampler  
3 501 961 Gas sample collection apparatus  
3 502 165 Gas-electric driven vehicle with retractable wheels  
3 502 219 Gasoline vapor recovery apparatus  
3 503 184 Treatment of gases evolved in the production of aluminum  
3 503 185 Process for the recovery of sulfur dioxide in residual gases  
3 503 187 Method and apparatus for extraction of alkali from the escape gases of a cement kiln  
3 503 188 Air pollution prevention system and apparatus  
3 503 407 Incinerator and apparatus for incinerating trash and garbage  
3 503 413 Auxiliary sewage storage system for temporary storage  
3 504 704 Method and apparatus for suppressing the growth of microorganisms  
3 504 749 Precipitator control apparatus  
3 504 781 Electrostatic precipitator rapper control system  
3 504 481 Air filtering system  
3 504 482 Apparatus for removing oil and sulfur oxides from waste gases  
3 504 521 Method and device for the determination of the composition of a gas  
3 504 799 Water sludge separation system  
3 505 008 Separation of fly ash and SO<sub>2</sub> from flue gases  
3 505 461 Heater and apparatus for activated sludge processing of sewage  
3 505 233 Method and apparatus for purifying a natural body of water  
3 505 237 Method and apparatus for construction of incinerator waste solutions  
3 505 790 Dust collector  
3 506 049 Collector of small solid particles  
3 506 414 Domestic refuse and garbage incinerator  
3 506 462 Dewatering of sludge  
3 506 570 Clarification of and phosphate removal from sewage  
3 506 998 Trash disposing machine  
3 507 098 Automatic voltage control ill electrostatic precipitators  
3 507 147 Sample-inlet method and apparatus for gas analyzers employing a static condenser and gas separator  
3 507 156 Composite sampling system for waste water disposal  
3 507 232 Incinerating apparatus & methods  
3 507 482 Apparatus for reducing, alkalinizing and simultaneously improving efficiency of electrostatic dust collector  
3 507 782 Separation ill hydrocarbons from plant process waste water  
3 508 001 Treatment of sewage  
3 508 006 Incinerator  
3 508 652 Process and apparatus for reduction of unburned combustible in fly ash  
3 508 653 Method of and apparatus for separating oil from water  
3 508 663 Flexibly elongated generally cylindrical collector for hydrophilic materials  
3 508 668 Apparatus for treating exhaust gases containing SO<sub>2</sub>  
3 509 834 Incinerator  
3 509 835 Filter-incinerator device for waste disposal system  
3 509 836 Incinerator apparatus for burning waste materials  
3 510 067 Converting thermoplastic fil waste to flowable granular material  
3 510 069 Water flow and garbage disposal system  
3 510 110 Filter system  
3 510 253 Method of removing sulfur dioxide from gases  
3 510 265 Wastewater treatment apparatus using activated carbon bed and regenerator  
3 510 424 Destruction of dissolved cyanides  
3 511 030 Methods and apparatus for electrostatically cleaning highly radioactive materials  
3 511 056 Treatment system and apparatus  
3 511 194 Methods & apparatus for high temperature waste disposal  
3 511 380 Clarifier for aerated liquids  
3 511 595 Method of removing carbon dioxide  
3 511 776 Method and apparatus for removing ions from water  
3 511 777 Method of neutralizing acid waste water  
3 511 841 Purification of vapours containing fluorine compounds  
3 512 911 Method for subsurface disposal of radioactive waste  
3 513 635 Ground for electrostatic dust collector electrode  
3 513 700 Electrostatic precipitator  
3 513 705 Flüssig paper picker  
3 513 771 Refuse compaction  
3 513 778 Rotating incinerator with spinning cup burner  
3 514 462 Compacting refuse  
3 514 924 Dust-arrestor  
3 514 949 Treatment apparatus for disposal  
3 515 064 Purifying air/mist prevention system using pointed electrode members  
3 515 078 Incinerator  
3 515 200 Process for treatment ill pulping

# environment.

waste liquor, eliminating both water and air pollution

3 515 377 Sewage disposal system

3 515 381 Sludge burner

3 515 393 Treatment process for SO<sub>2</sub> removal

3 515 644 Reversed enzymatic detection method for anticholinesterases

3 515 655 Electrolytic decontamination of radioactive and chemically contaminated equipment

3 515 664 Demineralizing process and apparatus

3 515 939 Dust precipitator

3 516 360 Electrostatic precipitator

3 516 371 Incinerator

3 516 545 Waste treatment apparatus

3 516 647 Device for removing impurities from polluted air

3 516 777 Apparatus for separating mixture of inflammable fluid-waste material and air to incinerator burner

3 516 929 Rotating biological contactor in a semiunited sewer

3 516 930 Method of treating liquid waste effluent

3 517 190 Method of remotely monitoring stack effluent

3 517 485 Treatment waste gases

3 518 056 Apparatus and method for detecting the carbon monoxide content of a gas mixture

3 518 774 Arrangement and method for removing dust

3 518 812 Process for removing dust from hot, dust laden gases

3 518 813 Extended discharge systems for electrostatic precipitators

3 518 814 Electrostatic precipitator of free bench

3 520 113 Air pollution control device

3 520 415 Method for separating water, oil and sand

3 520 649 System for removal of SO<sub>2</sub> and fly ash from power plant flue gases

3 520 662 Smokesheet aerosol gas purifier

3 520 772 Method of getting rid of malodorous air and water pollutants from precipitation pulp cooking

3 520 805 Method of disposal of radioactive solids

3 521 430 Filter with fluid timing mechanism

3 521 581 Bubbling sewage sludge

3 521 752 Waste water treatment

3 521 922 Device for aerating sewage

3 522 000 Method and apparatus for cooling and purifying gaseous products of combustion

3 522 173 Catalyst purification method

3 522 613 Waste disposal system

3 522 692 Gas scrubber

3 522 724 Method and apparatus for testing the efficiency of a waste water treatment facility

3 522 881 Apparatus for treatment of sewage

3 522 935 Air treating device

3 523 001 Aerosol sampler

3 523 012 Apparatus for composting waste

3 523 076 Microwave irradiation of sewage and sewage sludge

3 523 407 Method for electrostatic precipitation of dust particles

3 523 872 Electrolysis

3 523 891 Electrolytic sewage treatment system

3 524 547 Sewage treatment apparatus

3 524 594 Refuse handling system

3 524 720 Process for removing SO<sub>2</sub> from gases

3 524 801 Process for producing sulfuric acid from SO<sub>2</sub> containing waste gas

3 525 199 Apparatus for separating aqueous waste stream from a hydrocarbon conversion process

3 525 437 Apparatus for separating solids from liquids and for thickening sludge

3 526 080 Gas trapping device

3 526 081 Gas purification

3 526 196 Auxiliary burner assembly for incinerator systems

3 526 589 System for separating solid and liquid wastes for incinerator waste treatment

3 526 591 Sewage treatment structure

3 527 177 Smokeless and odorless domestic incinerators

3 527 178 Apparatus for the destruction of organic wastes

3 527 642 Process for converting waste to higher digestive nutrients

3 527 659 Method and apparatus for reclaiming waste industrial oils

3 527 688 Apparatus for removing water from sewage sludge

3 528 284 Purifying persistent waste liquids

3 528 462 Sewage disposal

3 528 549 Waste water treatment

3 529 781 Apparatus for removing apparatus having horizontal bed for air/liquid contact

3 529 229 Electric car battery recharge system

3 529 558 Apparatus and method for the incineration of solid refuse and aqueous sewage sludge

3 529 599 Device for removal of ash and slag from furnace for the burning of wastes

3 530 063 Treatment of an aqueous stream from a hydrocarbon conversion plant

3 530 780 Apparatus for collecting hood

3 530 805 Exhaust-scrubbing incinerator

3 530 830 Incinerator

3 530 867 Exhaust gas cleaner

3 531 990 Sewage treatment system

3 531 230 Colloid separator

3 531 270 Colloid removal from kraft pulping process waste effluents

3 531 395 Treatment of an aqueous waste stream from a chemical plant with continuous recycle of the treated aqueous stream

3 531 404 Sewage treatment system

3 531 405 Sludge treatment system

3 531 406 Fall safe introduction of a bactericidal gas into liquid sewage

3 531 664 Means for removing pollutants from products of combustion

3 532 123 Apparatus for removing smoke and other gaseous fluids

3 533 508 Sewage treating apparatus

3 533 753 Catalyst for engine exhaust-gas reformation

3 533 775 Apparatus for aerobically preparing fertilizer from a mixture of municipal waste containing paper with sewage sludge

3 534 857 Electrodeable aeration plants for treatment of sewage and industrial wastes

3 535 044 Organic carbon colorimeter

3 535 234 Activated sludge sewage treatment

3 535 236 Floating cover for sludge digester

3 535 851 Portable plant for removal of dust from hot gases

3 535 852 High temperature dust collector

3 535 854 Dust separator

3 536 610 Treatment of an aqueous waste stream from a hydrocarbon conversion process

3 537 619 Treatment of an aqueous waste stream from a hydrocarbon conversion process

3 537 238 Electrostatic filter for the purification of gases and particularly of the air

3 537 239 Smoke abatement device

3 537 264 Treatment of aqueous wastes

3 537 410 Initiator with residue reduction

3 537 472 Sewage disposal system

3 537 535 Purifying waste waters

3 537 589 Treatment of effluents

3 537 689 Water treatment

3 537 823 Gas testing process for smog forming constituents

3 537 964 Radiation treatment of mine waste

3 538 444 Waste compressor

3 538 865 Smoke eliminator for waste burner

3 539 045 Means for collecting floatsam

3 539 507 Waste (sewage) treatment process

3 539 509 Apparatus for the removal of iron oxides from liquids

3 540 189 Process for destroying ammonia contained in wastes resulting from the operation of coke ovens

3 540 261 Treatment of aqueous sludge

3 540 575 Reducing noise level in air moving devices

3 540 589 Apparatus for purification of polluted water

3 540 590 Sewage treatment apparatus

3 541 851 Method of determining trace amounts of gases

3 541 761 Cooling waste gases from an electric furnace

3 542 651 Unit for the recovery of plating solution

3 542 675 Water treatment

3 543 299 Household water conversion system

3 543 481 Separating dust from gaseous streams

3 543 484 Preventing emission of residual fuel vapors

3 543 701 Contamination reduction in incinerator

3 543 702 Air cleaner

3 543 936 Effluent treatment apparatus

3 544 369 Method for the cleaning of metal waste and the recovery of oil therefrom

3 545 180 Air cleaner and filter therefor

3 545 181 Air cleaning apparatus

3 545 620 Waste water treatment plant

3 545 621 Pulp waste purifier

3 545 682 Food waste disposal

3 546 039 Apparatus for water treatment

3 546 110 Treating sewage water by means of flocculation and aeration

3 546 111 Sewage water treatment

3 546 190 Sludge treatment plant

3 547 360 Waste-disposer rotor

3 547 411 Recaiming paving material

3 547 592 Furnace burner

3 547 800 Purifying waste waters utilizing an electrolytic cell

3 547 810 Treatment of water with ion-exchange resins

3 547 811 Cyclic oxygenation of BOD-containing water treatment

3 547 813 Biochemical oxidation with low sludge recycle

3 547 814 Bio-oxidation with low sludge yield

3 547 815 Staged oxygenation in BOD

3 547 816 Waste water purification

3 548 762 Smokeless incinerator

3 549 001 Treatment of municipal waste

3 549 011 Disposition of municipal waste

3 549 017 Sludge treatment

3 549 092 Garbage and waste treatment

3 549 484 Recovery sulfite waste liquors

3 549 500 Treatment of organic wastes

3 549 529 Disposal of waste materials

3 550 778 Waste water reclaimer

3 551 328 Desulfurization of a heavy hydrocarbon fraction

3 552 332 Sludge treatment

3 552 335 Refuse disposal system

3 552 725 Device for acceleration of evaporation and oxidation in sewage treatment

3 552 917 Apparatus for the chromium content from waste sludges containing solid barium chromate

3 553 844 Method and means for drying organic wastes

3 553 939 Electrostatic precipitator having means to support the collecting electrodes

3 555 818 Electrostatic precipitator

3 555 996 Method and means for reducing the volume of waste materials

3 556 224 Beach cleaning apparatus

3 556 239 Electrically driven vehicle incinerator with reduced noise emission

3 557 725 Furnace emission control system

3 557 954 Sewage treatment apparatus and method

3 558 255 Control system for waste water treatment and sludge treatment

3 558 286 Electrodynamic precipitator with catalytic reaction

3 559 807 Sewage treatment apparatus and method

3 559 823 Apparatus for incinerators

3 560 376 Activated sludge treatment of sewage

3 561 739 Water treatment

3 561 624 Treatment station equipment for sludge treatment

3 561 922 Waste soluble liquor recovery

3 561 928 Gas purifying apparatus

3 561 943 Process for preparing a soil conditioner from wood waste materials

3 562 127 Treatment of exhaust gases containing nitrogen oxides and other noxious compounds

3 562 128 Apparatus for the common removal of organic compounds and sulfide-contaminants in a gas mixture

3 562 137 System for electrochemical water treatment

3 563 382 Sludge treatment plant

3 563 384 Automatic macerator unit

3 563 695 Separation of CO<sub>2</sub> and H<sub>2</sub>S from gas mixtures

3 563 696 Separation of CO<sub>2</sub> and H<sub>2</sub>S from liquids

3 563 880 Method and apparatus for treating waste-containing liquor

3 565 890 Process and material for extracting dissolved radioactive ions from liquids

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better than cassette, there's the Sony HP 218 with an 8-track cartridge player instead.)

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**SONY**

come during a time when the strength of the regular armed forces has remained stable at about 223,000 men. The armed forces are pugnacious and well trained, but they need new equipment to replace aging Russian tanks and MiGs acquired during a period of Khrushchevian good will. Were an emergency to erupt, however, the U.S. has contingency plans to send extensive aid, short of troops, to Yugoslavia's military. And while some analysts consider the army to be the only institution capable of holding the country together once Tito is no longer around, Yugoslavia's soldiers have shown no inclination in recent years to mix in the country's politics.

The territorial forces, which are strictly under regional party control, could prove much less reluctant to meddle. In any event, their swift expansion is an indication that Yugoslavia is irrevocably embarked upon a political decentralization that will match the economic decentralization of the 1950s, which turned Yugoslav plants over to a worker self-management system. In a sense, the armed workers recall Marx's reflections about the creation of an "armed people" as the replacement of the traditional standing army. They also serve as a warning to the federal government in Belgrade that it will inevitably be more difficult to reimpose strictly centralized control on the country should some future ruling group attempt to do so.

## SPIES

### A Not-So-Classy Exit

James Bond would have been mortified by the scene. At London's Tilbury Docks one afternoon last week, three mud-spattered school buses squealed to a halt and disgorged 200 Russians, including 70 of the 105 Soviet officials named as spies by the British government and ordered to leave the country (15 were out of Britain when the expulsion orders came, and 20 have since left by other means). It was hardly a classy exit. For two hours in the autumn fog, glum parents and children clutching Teddy bears waited on the Thames pier while the creaking, 35-year-old Russian cruise ship *Baltika*, scheduled for scrapping next year, was readied for departure. Nerves were ragged. As press cameras clicked away, one Russian shouted: "Stop those stupid things!"

**Rousing Fiddler.** In addition to the 70 accused KGB agents on board the *Baltika* were 50 non-Russians who had previously booked passage to Leningrad. But there were also 177 empty berths—reserved by the Soviet embassy in London at an average cost of \$108 to make sure that no enterprising journalists suddenly decided to make the trip. As the spy ship slipped away, loaded with last-minute purchases of cigarettes, sweaters and Scotch, its loudspeaker burst forth with the rousing number *If I Were a Rich Man from Fiddler on the Roof*.

Five nights later, the Soviet Foreign Ministry summoned the British ambassador to Moscow. Sir John Killick, who had just sat down to dinner. In fine Britannic spirit, Sir John refused to rise until he had finished his meal 30 minutes later. Only then was he informed that the Kremlin had ordered four British diplomats and a businessman to leave the country. An additional nine diplomats, three businessmen and an academician who were not in the Soviet Union at the moment were declared *persona non grata*; some of them, in fact, had not been there for five years. For good measure, the Kremlin declared that the visit to Moscow of British Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home, scheduled for next spring was "impossible." Whitehall denounced the Soviet action as "arbitrary victimization," but for the moment did not strike

KGB man whose special assignment is to cultivate U.S. scientists. Pavlichenko called the story "slandorous and false." Though his \$27,000-a-year job was renewed last week, there was speculation that he would eventually return to Moscow on one pretext or another.

► In Brussels, Tass Correspondent Valentine Volkov departed so suddenly that he failed to get a compulsory exit visa; he later was reported to have surfaced in Moscow. Anatole Chebotarev, a member of the Soviet trade delegation, was also missing, along with a Soviet embassy car. Chebotarev was said to have been a friend of Oleg Lyalin, whose defection to the West several weeks ago launched the massive spy case in London. At week's end the car was found near the North Sea port of Zeebrugge, and there were reports that Chebotarev had slipped away to Britain.

TOPPHOTO—PICTORIAL PARADE



RUSSIANS PREPARING TO BOARD 'BALTIKA'

Loaded with cigarettes, sweaters, Scotch and KGB men.

back, as it had earlier threatened. Other bulletins from the spy scene:

► In Beirut, Lebanese officials reacted angrily to a charge by Kim Philby, the Briton who defected to the Soviet Union in 1963, that eight Lebanese journalists and politicians had been working for British intelligence. Philby's charge was clearly part of a "disinformation" campaign designed to divert attention from the big spy case in London. One unexpected result was to disrupt a Soviet campaign to cultivate Lebanon's influential moderate and right-wing leaders. Former President Camille Chamoun, whose eldest son Dorian was named by Philby, angrily canceled a dinner he had planned to give for Soviet Ambassador Sarvar Azimov.

► The New York *Times* quoted U.S. "security experts" as saying that Vladimir P. Pavlichenko, 48, director of external relations in the United Nations Office of Public Information, was a veteran

## WEST GERMANY

### Challenger with Two Hats

Since Willy Brandt's Social Democrats won power two years ago, West Germany's Christian Democratic Union has been a party without a leader. Kurt Georg Kiesinger, 67, the defeated Chancellor, went into a deep sulk and was eventually talked into stepping down as party chairman. Franz Josef Strauss, 56, the burly, ultraconservative leader of the C.D.U.'s Bavarian wing, maneuvered on the sidelines. Meanwhile, Rainer Barzel, 47, took on the burden of leading the C.D.U. in the Bundestag.

**Number One.** Meeting last week at Saarbrücken, the party picked Barzel as its new chairman, making him the most likely nominee for Chancellor in the 1973 general elections. Challenging Barzel for the chairmanship was Helmut Kohl, 41, up-and-coming prime minister of Rhineland-Palatinate. Al-

though a capable administrator, the reform-minded Kohl presented his case in a nebulous, unconvincing manner. Moreover, some Christian Democrats objected to the fact that Kohl ran for chairman in tandem with Gerhard Schröder, who wanted to be the C.D.U. nominee for Chancellor. Schröder, 61, held cabinet posts under three C.D.U. Chancellors and leads Barzel in popularity polls, but the party dislikes him because of his aloofness.

Barzel, who made it clear that he wanted both the chairmanship and the nomination for Chancellor, told the delegates: "Number One can only be one of us." By a thumping 344-to-174 vote, he emerged as chairman, and he will almost certainly wind up wearing both hats when the party nominates its Chancellor candidate before the end of the year.

The son of a teacher, Barzel joined



BARZEL AT SAARBRÜCKEN

*Less cocky, but still self-confident.*

a Catholic youth organization instead of the Hitler Youth, became a navy reconnaissance pilot during World War II and earned a doctorate in law from the University of Cologne in 1949. He was elected to the Bundestag in 1957 from a strongly Catholic district and achieved the cabinet post of Minister for All-German Affairs in 1962. Married, and the father of one daughter, he has been known as a flashy man about Bonn who drives fast cars, collects modern art, maintains a year-round suntan and keeps trim with daily swims. No longer quite so cocky as he used to be, Barzel is still extremely self-confident, but he knows that he must change his image to win the popular support that he now lacks.

The Social Democrats are not unhappy about Barzel's victory. An Allensbach Institute opinion poll in July gave Schröder 41% of the vote against 43% for Brandt; Barzel got only 34% v. 50% for the Chancellor. But there are those who believe that Barzel can be sold to the public, much as Richard Nixon was in 1968.

## ISRAEL

### The Desert Sage

The hundreds of vehicles that wound their way through Israel's Negev Desert last week formed a kind of mobile Who's Who. Led by President Zalman Shazar and Premier Golda Meir, the pilgrims were bound for the Negev kibbutz of Sde Boker to pay homage, on his 85th birthday, to former Premier David Ben-Gurion.

Ben-Gurion, the founder-father of Israel and its leader for 15 of the 23 years that it has existed, is not only his country's George Washington but its Thomas Jefferson as well. This week a U.S. edition of his 862-page *Israel—a Personal History* will be published. Already a bestseller in Israel, the book recalls how in 1948, with the country breeching into bloody birth, Ben-Gurion personally wrote its Declaration of Independence. A committee was assigned the task; and Ben-Gurion reminded it that the U.S. Declaration of Independence made no mention of territorial boundaries. When the committee deadlocked over a final draft, Ben-Gurion produced a text that was adopted with only a single small change.

**That Man.** Recently an Israeli columnist admiringly described Ben-Gurion's "willingness to forgive his foes for everything he ever did to them." Thus it was in the desert last week. Six years ago Ben-Gurion broke with the ruling Mapai party over a Defense Ministry scandal. Mrs. Meir became so angry with him that for years afterward she privately referred to Ben-Gurion only as "that man" (in retaliation, he called her "a one-woman stumbling block"). Last week Mrs. Meir invited him back into the Labor Party. Ben-Gurion graciously declined. "I am no longer dealing in politics," he said.

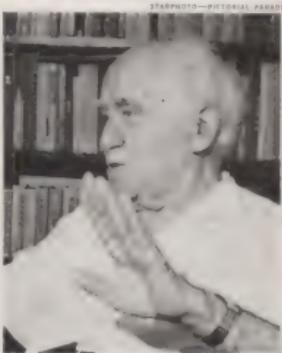
Ben-Gurion's pace has hardly slowed. Visiting him last week in his trim green bungalow in the Negev, TIME Correspondent Marlin Levin found him hard at work on memoirs that will complement his history. Ben-Gurion is writing mainly for the youth of Israel. "I want to tell them what has been done so far, what was good and what was not so good, so that they should know how to continue Jewish history."

In his *Personal History*, one of the six books he has written in four years, Ben-Gurion shows a deep sense of the continuity of Jewish history. Describing the 1948 war of independence, he writes: "We have more than once met Egypt and Assyria, Babylon and Aram, Canaan and Amalek, but always singly; never in 3,500 years was the whole Middle East united against us." When Ben-Gurion first came to Israel from Poland in 1906 under his original name, David Gryn (this Hebrew name means "son of a lion cub"), he found a land "both loved and desolate"—and underpopulated. "In 1906, my greatest wish was to see a population of 500,000 Jews in this country," he said last week. "Now we need 8,000,"

000." Noting that the population is currently 3,000,000, Ben-Gurion writes: "Any Jewish woman who, as far as it depends on her, does not bring into the world at least four healthy children is shirking her duty to the nation."

**Hebrew Sparta.** It is Ben-Gurion's overriding concern that those children be raised in an Israel finally at peace. To achieve that, Ben-Gurion would be willing for Israel to surrender every captured territory except Jerusalem ("the eternal capital") and the Golan Heights. He is thus closer than his successors in Israel's government to the six-point settlement that U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers outlined last week at the U.N. Rogers urged Israel to withdraw from the east bank of the Suez Canal in exchange for an Egyptian pledge of unrestricted passage for Israeli ships.

Ben-Gurion does not believe that peace will result from superpower ma-



BEN-GURION AT SDE BOKER  
*A special content in plenty.*

nevers or from any effort by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, whom he does not trust. Rather, he told Levin, it will emerge because of the new generation in Egypt. "There are many Egyptian youths who have finished university. There are some among them who care for their people. There will be peace because they understand what Nasser understood in the last year of his life—that the main problem of Egypt is not how to destroy Israel but how to improve the condition of its own peasants."

At Sde Boker, Ben-Gurion spoke for a full hour to the 2,000 Israelis who had gathered to pay him tribute. "We have always been a people that resides alone, and we can only rely on ourselves and world Jewry," he said. "Our closest neighbors are our bitterest enemies, refusing to accept our existence." But Israel, he went on, "was never intended to become a Hebrew Sparta. Our strength will not be determined solely by our military power and economic wealth, but by the special content of our lives and our capacity to cling to our unique heritage."

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he wanted a boat. So he built one.  
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*Dewar's never varies.*

## THE LAW



DRAWING OF JESSE JAMES' MURDER  
The question was when.

### Decisions

► Rudy Turilli of Stanton, Mo., found a vocation in his belief that Jesse James was not killed in 1882, but lived into the 1950s under the alias of J. Frank Dalton. After meeting Dalton in 1948, Turilli opened the Jesse James Museum in Stanton and published a book arguing his thesis. In 1967 Turilli announced on a television program that he would pay \$10,000 to anyone who could prove him wrong. Stella James, daughter-in-law of the outlaw, and her two daughters tried to collect after supplying affidavits from James family members that Jesse had indeed died in 1882. When Turilli refused to pay, the women sued and won in the Franklin County circuit court. The verdict, recently upheld on appeal, put the courts in the unusual position of considering an academic point of history. Turilli now says that he will ask for a new hearing on the grounds that his television boast was not legally binding.

► No one complained about Specialist David B. Cortright's abilities as an Army bandsman at Fort Wadsworth in New York City. But Cortright's antinuclear activities were another matter. He signed a protest petition published in the *New York Times* and distributed literature to fellow band members. After his fiancée and the wives of four other musicians tried to march with the band in an Independence Day parade last year carrying signs saying "Nix-On War" and "Military Wives for Peace," the Army had it. Some band privileges were revoked, and when dissension within the ranks followed, the Army transferred Cortright to band duty at Fort Bliss, Texas. The soldier claimed in U.S. dis-

trict court that his free-speech rights had been violated. Though the lower court agreed, Chief Judge Henry Friendly for the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the ruling. Friendly found that the Army had not gone too far in holding that Cortright's right of protest was outweighed by the Army's interest in maintaining efficiency in all units. In dissent, Judge James L. Oakes warned: "Even a very little chill on a very big right is too much. A transfer to Texas today could be a transfer to Hué tomorrow."

► For 75 years, U.S. judges have used the so-called Allen charge, an instruction encouraging holdout jurors to join the majority in reaching a unanimous verdict. Fearing a divided jury in an assault and robbery case, District of Columbia Judge Oliver Gasch recently invoked elements of the Allen charge. When the jury could not agree, the judge complained to the jurors of the court's backlog and added that retrying the case before another jury "just doesn't make sense to me." A verdict of guilty followed. The defendant appealed, arguing that the judge had forced a decision. The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia sided with the defendant and then went a step further. It barred the use of the Allen charge in its jurisdiction, becoming the third federal appeals court to take that position.

► On trial in New York City for having accepted payoffs and having lied about it at a 1966 Federal Communications Commission hearing, Disk Jockey Hipolito Vega suddenly found himself faced with an unusual dilemma. The federal district court jury had been deadlocked for two sessions. One of the jurors reported to the judge that he was the primary holdout and that he could not see his way clear to changing his opinion. Hoping to head off a hung jury, Judge Lloyd MacMahon made a suggestion. "You have one guy holding out," he informed the defense. "I don't know which way he is. Do you want to accept a jury verdict of eleven?"

Vega consulted with his wife and attorney. The alternative was a new trial, at which a previously unavailable prosecution witness was likely to appear. Moreover, Vega's lawyer thought that some of the other jurors were "more sympathetic" to the defense. All things considered, Vega decided that the holdout had been arguing for conviction, and agreed to excuse him. Vega guessed wrong. The remaining eleven soon agreed unanimously that he was guilty.

The former D.J. at Manhattan's WBNX decided to appeal, contending in retrospect that he had been coerced into waiving the twelfth juror by the threat of an immediate retrial. The Second Circuit Court of Appeals was unimpressed by Vega's hard-luck tale. For one thing, a jury of twelve is not sacred—the acceptable number has dropped as low as

six. Vega's right to a unanimous verdict was not violated, because the eleven-member jury he agreed to was not divided. The court also found that the judge's mention of a speedy retrial was reasonable. Thus, while courts will not enforce normal gambling debts, they apparently will enforce a fair bet lost in the courtroom. For Vega, the tab was a sentence of three months and \$1,500.

### Judge for a Day

As they joust in the courtroom, most lawyers cannot help wondering what it would be like to preside over the arena from the bench. In San Francisco, as part of an innovative antidote to court congestion, a handful of experienced trial attorneys are getting the opportunity to find out. Acting as judges for a day, or sometimes two or three days, they are helping to attack the backlog of civil cases.

The use of brevet jurists was proposed last year by the American Board of Trial Advocates, an association of Western lawyers. Francis McCarty, presiding judge of the county's superior court, decided to use the volunteers as replacements for absent judges. Trial lawyers willing to accept the arrangement select the temporary judge they want in a given case, as they might pick an arbitrator. Though six replacements tried only one case each this summer, litigants who had anticipated delays settled more than 30 recent cases out of court rather than face the immediate trials made possible by the presence of judges *pro tem*. McCarty plans to continue the practice during the fall and winter.

► **Free Robe.** The temporary judge is appointed for a single civil case, and his powers are strictly limited. He cannot perform marriages, for instance, or



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*John Fanning*

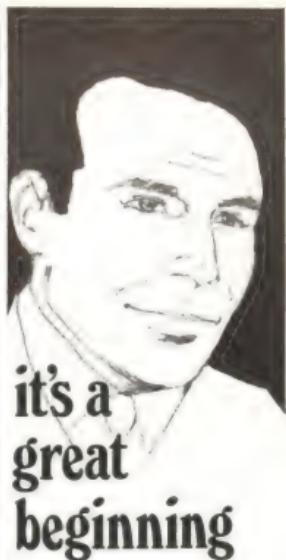
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sign search warrants for criminal investigations. And since each is a volunteer, he gets no pay. Otherwise, says Presiding Judge McCarty, "we treat him like any other justice. We provide him with a robe and off he goes."

The change in roles takes getting used to. Vernon Goodin, an early bird by nature, found himself racing through traffic to get to court on time, then relaxed when he realized "I'm the judge. They can't start without me." Gunther Detert remembers thinking that he would have trouble with objections to evidence. "But it came easy," he said after presiding over a fire-damage case. "I could see it a mile off. The real area of work was preparing instructions for the jury. The court people, the clerk and reporter and bailiff, keep you right on track. I really had fun." Added Goodin: "When you're up there running the joint, it's different. You have to react instead of act. From being a rabid advocate, you've got to try to become a wise and just judge. Keeping your mouth shut is a heck of a job."

**Fewer Hung Juries.** Both temporaries and regulars in the superior court are benefiting from another efficiency measure: reducing jury size from twelve to eight when the contending attorneys agree. "Strangely enough," says McCarty, "the time to select such a jury is about one-fifth what it takes to select a jury of twelve. And whether it is psychological is not clear, but the trial itself progresses more expeditiously. Verdicts come in more quickly. There are fewer hung juries." Lawyers also like it, and more than 70% of the superior court's cases in the past two months have been before the smaller jury. The California legislature is now considering making eight-member juries the statewide rule in civil cases. Though Judge McCarty has had to divert some of his regular judges to criminal cases, his reforms have allowed the civil docket to move at the same pace as last year.

A variation on the judge-for-a-day arrangement, also intended to speed the disposal of personal-injury suits, is about to begin in Los Angeles. The attorneys will be arbitrators rather than judges pro tem, but the proceedings will be carried out much like civil trials without juries. The main difference: the monetary judgment will not be subject to appeal except on the contention that the hearing process itself was unfair. Regular court officials fully back the experiment, and will steer cases into the new system by refusing continuances in pending suits starting this week; except in unusual circumstances, any attorney wanting a delay will have to go to arbitration. Los Angeles trial lawyers, who selected the 100 arbitrators from their own ranks, are also enthusiastic. Though the hearings will be held at night or on Saturdays when courtrooms are not in use, one group of plaintiff's representatives has promised to feed at least 3,200 cases into the arbitration program in the first year.



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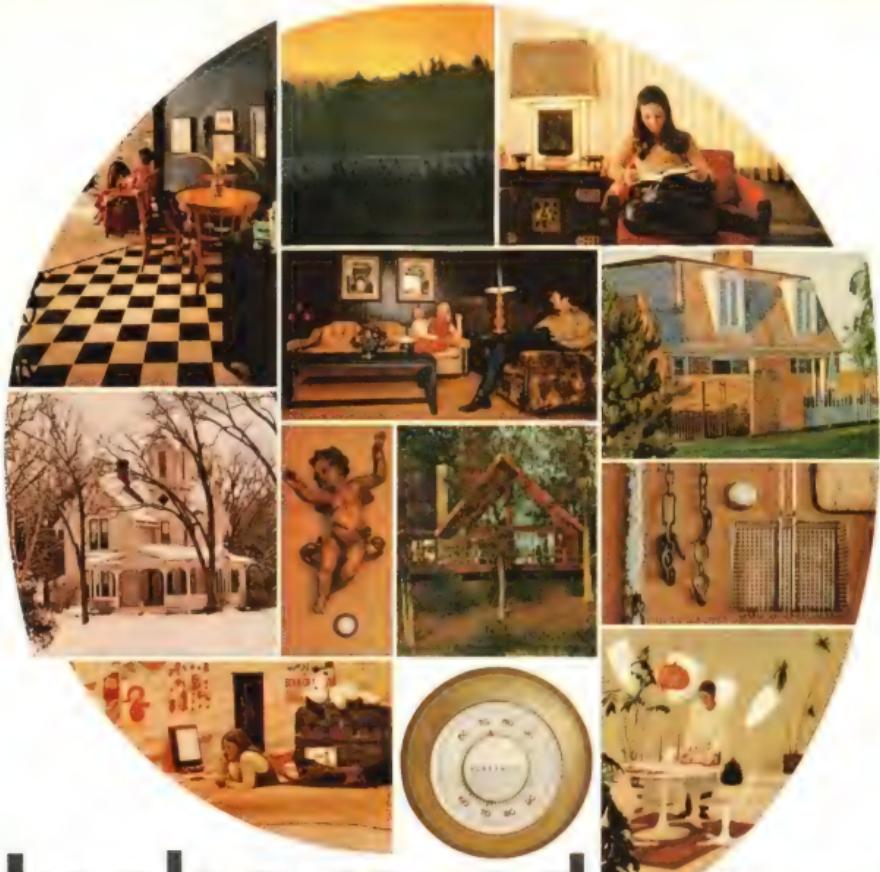
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## THE PRESS

### Shepherd to the Wordsmith

At an informal White House gathering last spring, President Nixon delivered himself of a paean to his press secretary Ron Ziegler. Nixon added that Ziegler had the second toughest job in the country. "The toughest job in the country," he said, "is, of course, being press secretary to the Vice President."

There is a barbed edge of truth in Nixon's jest. As the peripatetic Spiro Agnew sets out on yet another international jaunt, this time to Greece, Turkey and Iran, few men would envy anyone the task of handling the Vice President's press corps—small, hand-picked lot though they are. Will Agnew make another gaffe like adversely comparing American black leaders to African dictators? Will he praise the Greek ruling junta as a force for law-and-order? Will he do nothing in Iran but play golf—or worse, just sit in his tent, as he often used to sit in his hotel room in Seoul?

**Eloquent Ideologue.** No, it is not an easy job to shepherd the flock following the wordsmith who, in his glacial contempt for newsmen, has included them among the "nattering nabobs of negativism." Says one Agnew intimate: "If someone were to advise the Vice President to close down his press office, leaving only a girl to answer the phone and say 'F--- you' to every query, Agnew would be perfectly agreeable."

Instead of such a girl, however, Agnew has as press secretary an eloquent right-wing ideologue named Victor Gold. Proudly admitting that Agnew is "not a guy who can be packaged," Gold, 43, performs his assignment with a frantic zeal that occasionally compounds his problems but is more often effective in smoothing things over.

During his last overseas excursion, for example, the Vice President kept repeating that foreign leaders were "appalled" at the publication of the Pentagon papers. Reporters asked whether that wasn't because the autocrats that Agnew was talking with were dismayed at the idea of so free a press. Gold thoughtfully replied that what the Vice President really meant was that heads of state were concerned that their diplomatic conversations with the U.S. might wind up in print. Agnew dutifully incorporated Gold's amendment into later speeches.

**The Media Morphosis.** Gold has stuck out his job since the 1970 elections (the had three predecessors) mainly because he believes in what he is doing. He grew up in New Orleans and attended Tulane University, where he wrote a column for the school newspaper. Says

Gold: "I wanted to be the Westbrook Pegler of my generation." Instead he became a lawyer, a public relations man and finally, in 1964, assistant press secretary to Barry Goldwater. Even before he met the Vice President, Gold wrote a still unpublished book entitled *The Enemies He Has Made: The Media Morphosis of Spiro T. Agnew*, which analyzed Agnew's relationship with the press, to the disadvantage of the latter.

Gold shares Agnew's view that the press is too liberal. Where he differs from the Vice President is in his day-to-day dealings with newsmen. His theory is that obstructionism is self-defeating. "Even if the Vice President is



AGNEW & PRESS SECRETARY GOLD  
*The country's toughest job.*

criticizing the press," he notes, "the only way to get it out to the people is to make it available to the press."

**Born Ruffled.** To that end, even though Agnew staffers treat correspondents on junkets as if they should carry little bells and cry "Unclean! Unclean!" Gold always sees to it that they have sufficient typewriters and telex facilities, and even coaxes Agnew into a press conference or two. Consequently, Gold is well liked by the press corps. He is not, however, the imperturbable conciliator that the job would seem to demand. Born ruffled, Gold has become more so over the years. Following Agnew, he darts nervously about, teeth clenched, brow furrowed, and he can be every bit as choleric as his employer.

Agnew uses Gold as a mouthpiece when he chooses to be absent, just as President Nixon uses Ziegler. But Ziegler is a master circumlocutor who can answer a question a dozen different ways without saying anything, whereas Gold is liable to blow up under per-

sistent questioning. On the last trip, when the press badgered Gold about Agnew's preference for his hotel room over the swarming streets, Gold raged that Agnew was not the type to bring home a camel driver (like Lyndon Johnson) or cater to the "media maw." Gold, however, has a saving sense of humor. After a row with photographers on the Vice President's last foreign tour, Gold slackened the tension on the trip home by standing up in Air Force Two and announcing, deadpan: "The photographers will leave the plane via the rear exit at 1:50 p.m. The plane will land at 2:10."

### That Homey Touch

The *New York Times* has always been more of a national than a metropolitan newspaper; even its local coverage leans heavily on city politics and gives short shrift to human-interest stories. Last year, in an attempt to remedy the situation, Metropolitan Editor Arthur Gelb assigned Staff Reporter Joseph Lelyveld to spend a year covering the New York school system from the back row of a fourth-grade class at Harlem's P.S. 198.

Buoyed by favorable reader response, Gelb has now commissioned a staffer to devote full time to a single city block in Manhattan. The man is John Corry, a veteran journalist and author (*The Manchester Affair*), who had just returned to the *Times* after three years of writing for *Harper's*.

**Tenuous Alliance.** For his project, Corry zeroed in on 85th Street between Central Park and Columbus Avenue on the Upper West Side, largely because of its diversity. A kind of Manhattan in microcosm, the block includes among its 1,500 black, white and Puerto Rican residents a number of welfare families, a man who owns his own ad agency, some composers, some middle-class types, and a few hookers and junkies. Corry rented an apartment on the street, then set out to find "The Real City" from the stoops and sidewalks.

What he found was a relatively close-knit community, a "good block" with "good buildings" housing "good people." Yet the homiest of the five articles to run so far—long treatises on the comedy of the postman and the everyday frustrations of shopping—fail to dispel the notion that New York neighborliness is little more than a tenuous alliance. In fact, Corry's best piece so far lists the precautions taken by residents of the "good block" to keep from being robbed, raped, beaten or killed: "George Bassat keeps a club next to his front door. Mr. Brouwer no longer sits on his stoop, because he's afraid of being mugged."

Corry's city-block series has been well received, and he hopes to see it run for a year, with future pieces concentrating on individuals. Meanwhile, Corry is contemplating articles on two of the most pressing issues facing the residents of West 85th Street and every other New Yorker for that matter: double-parked cars and uncurbed dogs.

\* The traveling press party represents the Chicago Tribune, Copley Newspapers, the Columbus Dispatch, Hearst papers, the Richmond News Leader, the *Hellenic Chronicle*, the Nashville *Banner*, Mutual Radio News, and Associated Press.

# TELEVISION

## The Public Season

In trumpeting the start of its new season last week, television's educational network, now known as the Public Broadcasting Service, found a way for the first time to reach a significant national audience in prime evening hours: it bought \$650,000 worth of promotion spots on the three commercial networks. As a part of its *nouveau* big-league image, PBS grandiloquently billed itself as the "New Face of Television" and commissioned an expensive-looking logo with an anthropomorphic P—a sort of CBS eye with a brain.

The PBS premières last week did not quite deliver on the promise of an "exciting new world of television." They did, however, amply demonstrate both the exhilarating possibilities and exasperating problems of public television.

**HOLLYWOOD TELEVISION THEATER**, an occasional PBS special in the past, emerges this fall as a weekly feature. It capitalizes on first-rank actors who are between movies. Last week's première featured Anne Jackson and Eli Wallach in Murray Schisgal's *The Typists*, a talky tragicomedy about two white-collar mediocrities spilling out the empty cup of their lives. The high night of the season should come next month with Jack MacGowran's readings from Beckett; instead of remounting the show on the stark set designed for its off-Broadway run last year, PBS is spectacularly but improbably staging the work in the Mojave Desert.

**SPECIAL OF THE WEEK**, PBS's Monday-night alternative to pro football and *Laugh-In*, opened with a documentary by Fred Wiseman, the most accomplished director of the *cinéma vérité* genre (*Citizen Follies*, *Hospital*). This time, in *Basic Training*, he focused on the rigors and the ridiculousness of boot

camp in the summer of 1970 at Fort Knox, but he neglected to report the substantial reforms that have swept over the Army since. The result is an engrossing film but failed journalism. This week the *PBS Special* is a revival of the 1965 off-Broadway work *Hogan's Goat*, which gave the world Faye Dunaway. Faye is back, and, while William Alfred's blank-verso melodrama about turn-of-the-century Irish-American politics may not be a stage classic, it is a rich addition to the 19-in. screen.

**THIS WEEK** aims to avoid the primarily headline news service of the commercial networks and to concentrate its entire half-hour on one story. The anchor man is Bill Moyers, previously Lyndon Johnson's press secretary and publisher of Long Island's *Newsday*. In his opening program, Moyers covered the South Vietnamese election by talking in person to far-flung individual voters and wound up with an unexceptionable yet totally predictable and unprovocative piece of journalism.

**MASQUERADE**, an anthology of improvisations from children's fables, was the major embarrassment of the PBS premières. The gentle whimsy and fantasy of the original tales withers in a broad, shrill production better suited to the Minsky circuit. Kids of all ages would call a vulgar rip-off from the *Story Theater* (TIME, March 1), which has been far more sensitively translated to TV by Creator Paul Sills in a syndicated commercial series.

**CRITIC-AT-LARGE** is a quarter-hour with Berkeley Associate Professor of Journalism David Littlejohn, 34, putting his

bite, or perhaps overbite, on subjects ranging from Stravinsky to *TV Guide*, Disneyland to Solzhenitsyn. Like so much of public TV, *Critic-at-Large* is just a video version of a show just as well left to radio.

**BLACK JOURNAL**, heretofore a monthly hour, becomes a weekly half-hour for 1971-72. As Executive Producer Tony Brown declared in a prologue last week, the series is devoted to "black journalism, which, in its search for the truth, may frequently run counter to white journalism. One thing that black people need is education that will enable us to love our beautiful black selves." The première was an admiring look at black-run Guyana.

The rest of this fall's PBS lineup includes a reprise of Lord Kenneth Clark's *Civilisation* and a continuation of the BBC's *Masterpiece Theater*. The opening *Masterpiece* production is a felicitous, six-week serialization of *Jude the Obscure*, which, except for the gloom-struck overview of Thomas Hardy, is a sort of high-class *Peyton Place*. The Lucy of public TV, Julia Child, is also back in a new 26-part series on French cuisine, "designed," she says, "as a refresher course for experienced cooks and as a jet-assist take-off for beginners."

PBS's continuing public affairs series include *The Advocates*, a mock-trial show grappling with nettle-some subjects like last week's "Should the Government drop charges against Dr. Daniel Ellsberg?" Top-level advocates are always on the dock (the première about Ellsberg featured ex-Senator Ernest Gruening and Professor Noam Chomsky), but in the past the program has as often sensationalized or trivialized public debate as it has illuminated it.

The brightest of PBS's established series, *The Great American Dream Machine*, has been wisely cut from 90 minutes to a more manageable one hour this year. But opening night



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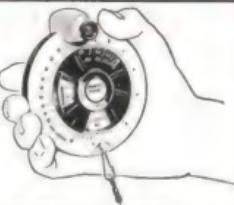
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—which aired some particularly imaginative segments, notably two charming cartoons and a droll sketch of a Mississippi crop duster—abruptly ended after 45 minutes in a footaraw symptomatic of public TV's major ailment in the U.S. Since PBS and its producers get much of their financing from the Federal Government, and since this funding is not insulated from querulous annual scrutiny, the network quakes at the least cavil from the Administration or Congress. Last week, after a complaining letter from J. Edgar Hoover, PBS timorously ordered the deletion of a *Dream Machine* segment that accused the FBI of hiring operatives to foment bombing in order to entrap left-wing co-conspirators. The material was not daringly muckraking in that both NBC and the *New York Times* had months earlier published interviews with one of the men who made the accusation. Later in the week, public TV's newly enterprising New York City channel, WNET, produced a fascinating behind-the-news special which included the segment in question and a panel of the principals and outside journalists arguing the wisdom of the PBS decision; apparently chastened by all the discussion, PBS at the last minute transmitted the WNET special for other network stations interested in carrying it.

Most other major public networks in the free world are guaranteed their funding and are therefore more independent of their governments than PBS so far has been. If its bureaucratized and politicized management continues to how meekly to pressure, as it did last week, PBS might as well give up its bold new logo and perhaps adopt something like a plucked version of the old NBC peacock. That is, a chicken.

▪ Richard Burghem

## What Was That?

Americans may, as they tell the poll-takers, consider television their prime source of news. According to yet another survey, however, TV newscasts usually go in one rabbit ear and out the other. Telephoning TV viewers after a newscast, Andrew Stern, a former ABC News staffer now on the journalism faculty of the University of California at Berkeley, found that 51% of those who had listened could not recall even one of the show's 19 items. Among all those called, the average memory rate was one item. (The calls were made over a period ranging from immediately after the show's sign-off to 3½ hours later.) Not surprisingly, the lead story was the most remembered. Far and away the most quickly forgotten material was the Eric Sevareid or Harry Reasoner show-ending commentaries. Stern blames the poor retention rate on "disrupting factors," especially dinner. His recommendation: the networks should shift their major newscasts of the day to 10:30 p.m.

## THE THEATER

### Holden Caulfield's Return

Mix the wistful, slightly sentimental humor of William Saroyan and the abrasive machine-gun ribaldry of Lenny Bruce. Add to that a mental image of Holden Caulfield as a 30-year-old dropout, and you have the basic tone and temper of Terrence McNally's *Where Has Tommy Flowers Gone?*

Tommy, played with intense virtuosity by Robert Drivas, isn't going anywhere. He grew up in St. Petersburg, Fla., but views that town, and his family, as a dead dog. He has become an asphalt urchin of Manhattan, where he cunningly cadges an existence off the body of a society that he believes is sick, bloated and dying.

Tommy is more likable than he sounds. He is a Chaplinesque waif who collects other waifs: an English sheep dog named Arnold that seems to be on tranquilizers; an old ham actor who

MARINA SUDOL



DRIVAS & DABNEY IN 'TOMMY FLOWERS'

Goodies in the cello case.

may or may not have toured with Eugene O'Neill's father in *The Count of Monte Cristo*; a grave-eyed, peach-complexioned girl (Kathleen Dabney) who is wrestling with a cello case full of shoplifted goodies when Tommy meets her in a Bloomingdale's ladies' room. The play is episodic, rather like an urban piarresque novel. Some of the encounters and adventures are wildly hilarious; others are merely poignant. The play's weakness lies in McNally's tendency to write by free association. Whatever pops into his head, he pops into the play. But the author of *Next and Noon* is correcting this defect with each succeeding work. At 31, he looks like one of the best bets among up-and-coming U.S. playwrights.

▪ T.E. Kalem

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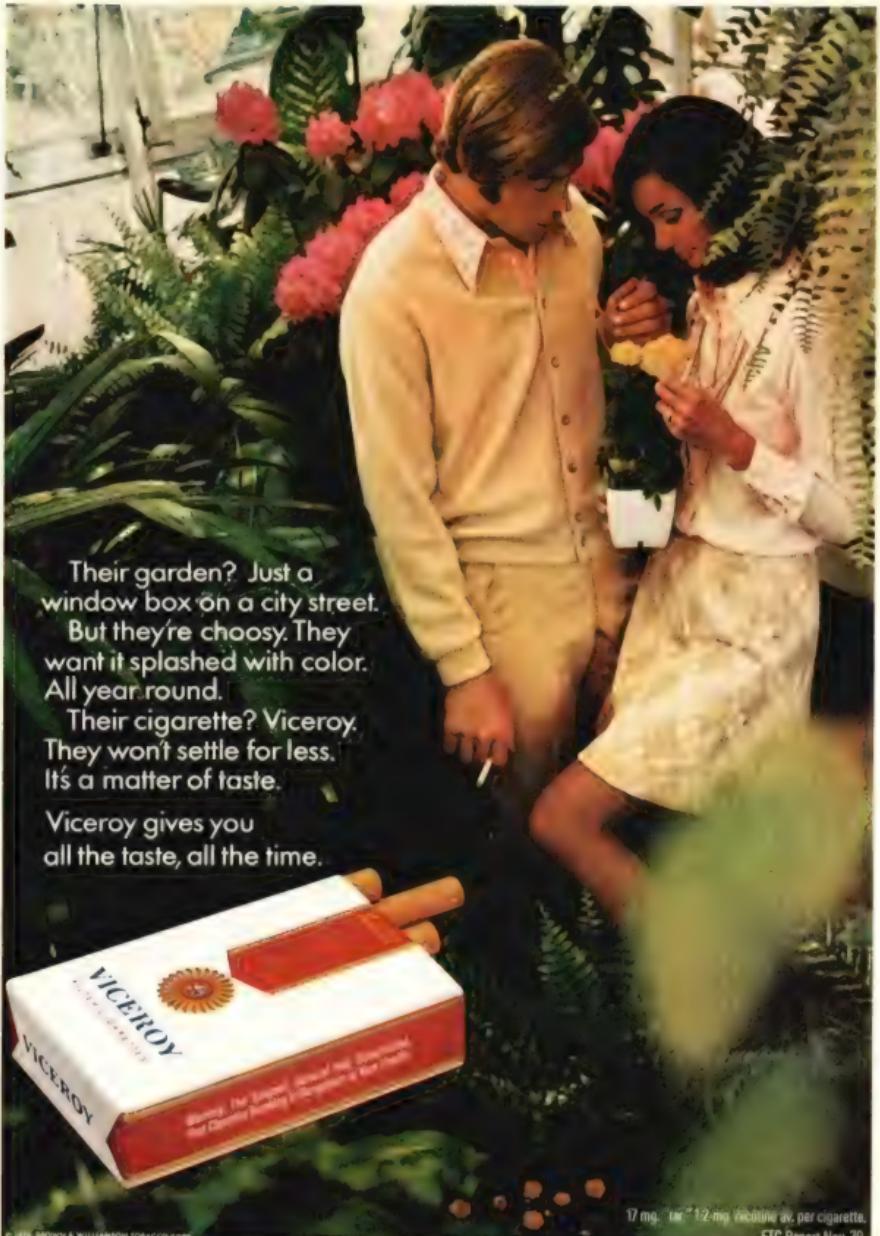
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## RELIGION

### Strengthening Paul's Hand

Ever since the Second Vatican Council ended in 1965, one of the pet words of Catholic liberals has been "collegiality"—the idea that the Pope shares authority with his bishops. The current Synod of Bishops in Rome (TIME, Oct. 11) is a reminder that collegiality can well backfire on the liberals.

Though there may be some surprises by month's end, it looked last week as if the gathering of representative bishops from around the world was strengthening the Pope's hand on matters of the priesthood and church authority. Some liberal bishops, though eager to take home something hopeful to their restive priests and laity, almost fatalistically accepted the prospect that the meeting would produce nothing new on internal church controversies.

**Considering Celibacy.** The Vatican, of course, was glad to promote that view. At his weekly audience, Pope Paul described his church as "tenaciously conservative. It is necessary to say this even if this word is not liked. But precisely because it is conservative, the church is always young. If it had changed all the time, it would have grown old." Meanwhile, a Page One commentary on the Synod in the Vatican paper *L'Observatore Romano* was taking a swipe at "theological speculation," insisting that the "decisive word" comes "uniquely from the *magisterium* of the church."

Although the Pope had not made celibacy of priests a formal topic for the Synod, it was soon informally discussed.

In the first working session, John Cardinal Dearden of Detroit suggested that studies of the sociological and psychological aspects of the priesthood should be taken into account. These include a major study by the American bishops that showed that 54% of the clergy surveyed think that priests should be able to marry if they wish to do so.

**Disunited Rite.** But even delegates from the Eastern Rite, which has an ancient tradition of ordaining married men, were not united in asking for a change in the celibacy rule. Josyf Cardinal Slipyi, the exiled patriarch of the Ukraine, spoke on behalf of the Eastern practice. But Coptic Patriarch Stephanos Sidarous declared that the Latin Rite would be unwise to change its rules, because married priests may become too absorbed with family matters.

The Pope has said only that he would be willing, reluctantly, to consider ordaining some "mature" married men in special cases in which priests are scarce. Canada's bishops, among others, strongly support the idea, but it will be a hard fight to get the Synod to ask for even this modest change.

The only real debate in the Synod so far has been between those who consider the priesthood a divine gift defined by revelation and those who stress the priest's duty to be active in social reform. In his opening presentation, Germany's Joseph Cardinal Hoeffner insisted that Jesus Christ did not intend to "establish a purely human solidarity with the less privileged as though he were a 'revolutionary' on the point of overturning existing social conditions." This view was disputed by Bernard Jan Cardinal Alfrink of The Netherlands. In his view, it represented "Christ's priesthood as though it had been exercised exclusively on the cross. The whole of Christ's life was a work of mediation and reconciliation, not only his sacrifice."

**Man Is One.** The activist view won some powerful support, including that of France's François Cardinal Marty. Marty, the leader of the French delegation, appears to be an increasingly influential voice within the hierarchy. He warned the bishops: "It is necessary to avoid the danger of separating theological reflections from practical problems." The Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Pedro Arrupe, made the same point: "Man is one, life is one. The priest is a person and must be treated as a person." Despite these appeals, the Synod leaders instructed the bishops to talk about only the theoretical aspects of the ministry when the meeting broke into discussion groups at midweek. Nonetheless, the group led by Marty plunged into practical issues, including social justice, the other major topic on the month's agenda.

On that score, the five American bish-



FRANCIS CARDINAL MARTY  
An influential voice.

ops had something to say. They issued a statement mildly criticizing a Synod paper for saying too little about nuclear war, the arms race, the repression of religious freedom and racial discrimination. American bishops, who are generally conservative on issues within the church, often prove progressive on external matters. Their statement was the first indication that this attitude might also prove true of the Synod in general.

### The Boom in Religion Studies

It used to be rare for anyone to get a doctoral degree in religion unless he was a clergyman. But in the past decade so many students have been studying religion for personal reasons and to become teachers that it is now the fastest-growing graduate field at secular universities. More doctorates (335 last year) are now granted in religion than in philosophy, geology, art, music, speech or any language.

This week the American Council of Learned Societies is releasing the first major study of religion graduate programs, prepared by the Rev. Dr. Claude Welch, the dean of Berkeley's Graduate Theological Union, and financed by the Henry Luce Foundation. Welch not only takes an informed, opinionated look at religion studies, but dares to suggest that about one-third of the nation's graduate religion departments should go out of business.

The study of religion is moving beyond the traditional trinity of subjects: the Bible, history and theology. Nor is a doctoral student any longer allowed to be ignorant of Eastern, Near Eastern and African faiths, although Welch believes that far more attention should be paid to religious traditions other than the Jewish and Christian. "He who knows one religion, knows none," says Welch, quoting



"To be perfectly candid, the issue of clerical celibacy isn't uppermost on my mind."

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## MILESTONES

**Died.** James G. Fulton, 68, Pennsylvania Congressman for 27 years and ranking Republican on the House Science and Astronautics Committee; of a heart attack; in Washington, D.C. Navy Lieut. Fulton was serving in the Pacific during World War II when he decided to run for Congress in *absentia*—and won. Though his Pittsburgh district was predominantly Democratic, Fulton was re-elected 13 times, partly because he was ready to do a constituent a favor and partly because he never tired of making appearances anywhere he could find a few voters. Also known for eccentricities, he proposed in 1960 that Dwight Eisenhower become Richard Nixon's candidate for Vice President.

**Died.** Vilim Siroký, 69, who served as Premier of Czechoslovakia from 1953 to 1963; in Prague. A World War II Resistance leader who narrowly escaped execution by the Nazis, Siroký rose rapidly through postwar party ranks as a Stalinist. As Premier, he often drew the assignment of declaring his government's antagonism toward the West. It was because of his unflinching loyalty to the Kremlin that Siroký was expelled from the party during the reform era introduced by Alexander Dubček.

**Died.** Dr. Aldo Castellani, 92, world authority on tropical medicine; in Lisbon. A native Florentine, Castellani received his medical degree in 1899, then joined a British commission studying sleeping sickness in Uganda. It was there that he became the first to isolate the deadly microbe carried by the tsetse fly. Castellani identified the germ that causes yellow fever, developed mixed vaccines for cholera, typhoid and paratyphoid. His close association with the British led to knighthood in 1928, though the honor was withdrawn after World War II started. Castellani settled in Portugal following the war as physician to his exiled sovereign, Italian King Umberto II.

**Died.** Admiral Richard H. Jackson, 105, oldest officer on the retired list; in San Diego. In 1889, Jackson was a midshipman about to be cashiered because of poor marks at the Naval Academy. Awaiting his release, he was serving on the wooden frigate *Trenton* when it was almost reefed by a typhoon off Samoa. Jackson led a group of sailors into the rigging, where they spread their coats to provide the extra sail surface necessary to propel the ship out of danger. His heroism produced a medal and a special act of Congress that reinstated him in the Navy. He later commanded gunboats on the Yangtze, served in the Spanish-American War and commanded the Pacific Battle Fleet before his retirement in 1930.



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### Festival (Contd.)

*With a few honorable exceptions, the New York Film Festival, now in its ninth year, has come to mean timorous experiments and feeble works from "name" directors. Some representative features this year:*

**FOUR NIGHTS OF A DREAMER** Robert Bresson. Surely not the Robert Bresson. The director whose work (*Diary of a Country Priest; Mouchette*) has the bite and permanence of a woodcut! It seems inconceivable that Bresson could have concocted this pastel romance. Everything in it has been said before in cheap yellowbacked French novels. A bov. Jacques (Guillaume des Forests), spies a girl, Marthe (Isabel Weingarten), on the bank of the Seine. Marthe is in tears; her lover has abandoned her. She consoles herself with Jacques. *Helas*, the affair is only a dream; in the end it is shattered by the little ironies of circumstance. During their chaste interlude, Jacques and Marthe batheetically wander the streets of Paris, serenaded by muzzy folk singers and a bossa nova group whose sentimentality matches the scenario. *Four Nights of a Dreamer* is adapted from a story by Dostoevsky. Surely not the Feodor Dostoevsky. . . .

**DIRECTED BY JOHN FORD** In this piece of lightweight scholarship, Director-Critic Peter Bogdanovich reviews the career of John Ford as if he were anatomizing the canon of Yeats. Ford, director of classic Americana from *Stagecoach* to *The Grapes of Wrath* to *The Last Hurrah*, is an artist of enormous sweep. But he has been guilty of certain venial sins, among them boozy sentimentality and the use of overfamiliar stock characters. In Bogdanovich's eyes every blemish is a virtue, and no detail is too

BOGDANOVICH & FORD



trivial to examine. He traces, for example, the history of a gesture first used by Harry Carey and later mimicked by John Wayne. Far more interesting than the critical narrative are four interviews interspersed with glimpses of Ford movies. Wayne, Jimmy Stewart and Henry Fonda are all in their 60s: they are juvenile leads when they discuss the director with terror and awe. Better still is Ford himself regarding Bogdanovich with rue and deflecting questions about his aesthetics with "Yeah," "No" and "Cut." Ford knows what Wordsworth knew: "We murder to dissect. Damned if he will assist this callow intern in his operation.

**DECAMERON** Pier Paolo Pasolini, an avowed Marxist who makes pallid films of Christianity (*The Gospel According to St. Matthew; Theorem*), has taken on more than he can eschew. Using ten of Boccaccio's tales, Pasolini twists the church by showing lascivious nuns, self-mocking ghosts, corrupt priests and finally the trials of the painter Giotto, played by Pasolini himself. Giotto was a cornerstone of Renaissance painting; Pasolini plays him as an interior decorator. Boccaccio was famous for his ribaldry; Pasolini is notorious for his vapidity. To adapt the *Decameron* successfully, a film maker must come to his senses—of sin and humor. Pasolini's version is senseless down to the last vignette.



PASOLINI AS GIOTTO IN "DECAMERON"

### Anaesthesia

**Desperate Characters** are neither desperate nor characters. This shockingly overwritten, overpraised work is the result of minor talents pursuing significance like hounds chasing after an endangered species. The film employs all the stock subjects of contemporary fiction, from the insensitive husband (Kenneth Mars) to the anaesthetized heroine (Shirley MacLaine). Her name is

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"We frequently hear that Lake Erie is dead. This is pure rubbish. Lake Erie is the shallowest of the Great Lakes, was created about 20,000 years ago and, barring another Ice Age, has several thousands of years yet to go before senility. The

western part of the lake is extremely shallow and receives a large amount of natural organic material transported from the surrounding terrain. Here is where the algae growth has always been present. Lake Erie has continually produced about 50% of the fish catch of the entire Great Lakes system, consistently over the past 100 years. This is not a mark of a dead lake."

Technical Report No. 3 of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, Ann Arbor, Michigan, presents data documenting Dr. Pecora's remarks.

Lake Erie does, of course, have serious pollution problems and we are about to underestimate them. And our steel plant near Buffalo has contributed

to this pollution. For several years we have been working on solutions. Late last year we completed a \$24 million program to control water pollution at this plant alone.

Of the 320 million gallons of lake water taken into the plant daily, about one-third becomes contaminated. This is processed through the plant's waste water treatment facilities before it is returned to the lake. This treated water not only meets New York state requirements for suspended solids and oil, it substantially exceeds them.

We will continue to clean up our air and water discharges wherever we have operations. We hope others will do their share, too.

\*Dr. Pecora is now Under Secretary of the Interior.

**BETHLEHEM STEEL**





MacLAINE & MARS  
*Reclining on multitudes.*

Sophie, a Manhattan housewife compelled to wander glassily through Frank D. Gilroy's scenario like a science-fiction victim, *The Woman Without a Brain*.

On her journey to nowhere, Sophie caroms off a number of archetypes over-familiar to readers of the urban novel: eunuchoid males, knife-edged women's libertarians, garrulous old leftists, jitter-blacks. To make Sophie's affliction even more puzzling, she is given an external symbol—a bite by a cat that may or may not be rabid. Is the plague external? Or does it lie within?

The answer must be met with a Sophie-like *aedea* from the viewer. This pseudoexistential drama is the celluloid version of novozain, deadening whatever—or whomever—it touches. Events are talked about, not shown. Sophie deals in tattered aphorisms ("Answering services are for muffling the services of the dying"). Her acquaintances reply with even more glittering zircons. One character, admiring a pair of inexpensive Italian shoes, hoots, "What multitudes we recline on!"

More is expected from the man who wrote *The Subject Was Roses*. Peculiarly enough, when Gilroy stops writing and starts directing, he shows talent. A hospital waiting room is shown, quite accurately, to be a zone where all experience—even pain—becomes banal; a rural retreat is made a place far more sinister than an evening street in the city. Shirley MacLaine, in a couple of tasteful nude scenes, puts aside her perennial mask of lovable kook to show herself as a woman of very attractive middle age. Like a good many former celebrities these days, she remains a star in search of a firmament.

• Stelan Kanter

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—Barry Commoner TIME, February 10, 1970

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TIME

### Minor Surgery

Emile de Antonio is a specialist at cinematic acupuncture. In such documentary essays as *Point of Order* (about the Army-McCarthy hearings) and *In the Year of the Pig* (a cynical chronology of the Viet Nam War), he needled some popular historic myths and a few political reputations. Now, in *Millhouse*, De Antonio has employed his usual technique of matching fragments of news film with quick on-camera interviews to produce an unfaltering but funny likeness of the 37th President (whose middle name is Milhouse, not Millhouse, but let that go). To be sure, De Antonio's jubilant bias sometimes plays him false. Nixon is too often seen stumbling over a foot or a phrase, and sometimes satire descends to the level of easy derision, as when scenes of Nixon's South American visit in 1958 are accompanied by the old Chiquita Banana jingle on the sound track.

But when it works, De Antonio's sense of juxtaposition can be lethal. News film of Nixon's 1968 nomination acceptance speech ("Let's win this one for Ike") is intercut with footage of Pat O'Brien in *Knute Rockne* advising his lachrymose squad to "win one for the Gipper"—their hospitalized teammate, who, with anachronistic irony, was portrayed by Ronald Reagan. De Antonio is also shrewd enough to know when Nixon is his own worst enemy, and he devotes a long section of *Millhouse* to the Checkers speech alone. Reciting his list of assets, attempting to sound humble and folksy ("Pat doesn't have a mink coat, but she does have a respectable Republican cloth coat"), all the while struggling grimly to look natural, Nixon seems to emerge as the kind of bumbo artist of whom W.C. Fields always ran afoul.

*Millhouse* touches on everything from the campaign against Helen Gahagan Douglas to all six crises, and includes some unfamiliar footage like J. Edgar Hoover making Nixon an honorary FBI agent. Subtitled a "white comedy," the film is hardly likely to win praise for fighting fair. But at its best, *Millhouse* has the impact of a David Levine caricature.

• Joy Cocks

### From Adolescent to Puerile

That sound you hear is of checkbooks closing all over Hollywood. The books belong to the smart money; the reason for their action is *The Last Movie* by Dennis Hopper—the same Dennis Hopper who recently opened the checkbooks with *Easy Rider*. The faults of that film are legendary—the paranoid swagger, the inept drug trips, the comic-book heroism. But the film also shared with other examples of naive art an un-

\* Not to be confused, although it undoubtedly will be, with Peter Bogdanovich's excellent *The Last Picture Show* [TIME, Oct. 11].



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disciplined energy and a curious magnetism. Its minuscule production cost (under \$500,000) and giant grosses (over \$50 million) made it the Volkswagen of the American film.

If this flint-eyed, wild-talking pothead could do it, the smart money reasoned, why couldn't *any* flint-eyed, wild-talking pothead do it? The *Easy Rider* fashion caught on, lank hair and sideburns became Hollywood's uniform of the day, and a new era was proclaimed.

The era (of two years' duration) is over. Dennis Hopper has blown it. His directorial debut may have been adolescent; his second movie is puerile. Formless, artless, it is narcissistic but not introspective, psycho but not analytic—a shotgun wedding of R.D. Laing and the *Late Show*. Its basic idea is not unsound: a movie company shoots a western in the Andes; when it leaves, the peasants mimic the staged violence but cannot separate reality from fantasy.

That is more than can be said for Hopper. Ignoring the plot, the director presents a gallery of his favorite art works: *Waterfall with a Distant View of Dennis*; *Effect of Dennis Through Peruvian Haze*; *Ruins of Dennis by Twilight*; and his favorite: *Dennis as the Universal Infant*. This portrait can be seen throughout *The Last Movie*, even when other actors come on—notably Stella Garcia as Hopper's Peruvian mistress and Rod Cameron as Rod Cameron. Hopper never appears sober or coherent. This may account for the film's Godardian device—from time to time the legend SCENE MISSING is mounted on a field of black. During the filming of *The Last Movie*, Hopper declared: "Being an artist is a heavy scene." That, unhappily, is the scene that is altogether missing.

■ S.K.



HOPPER & GARCIA IN 'THE LAST MOVIE'  
Scene missing.

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## BOOKS

### Remembrance of Cranks Past

FIRE SERMON by Wright Morris. 155 pages. Harper & Row. \$5.95.

Twenty-nine years and twenty-odd books ago, Wright Morris brought out of Nebraska a troop of crabbed characters, blown a little lopsided by those howling winds of the Great Plains. Ever since, he has been putting them through literary paces that have justifiably made him the most admired of America's little-read novelists.

All Morris' characters now seem to coalesce in the splendid single person of a wiry old coot named Floyd Warner. He is the hero of the author's latest novel, a terse, bright fable with all the Morris trademarks—the oblique wit, the offhand revelation, the unfailing eye for what Wallace Stevens called "the real that wrenches, the quick that's wry." Stubbornly out of touch with this or any other time, living in exile in a California trailer court, Floyd has got up to the age of 82 on a diet of hard-fried eggs and potatoes, not to mention sheer spite against the couple still in their 60s and owning three cats) who are waiting for him to die so they can move into his trailer. Floyd's working life consists of standing at the corner by the school with stop stenciled on the back of his jacket and go on the front of his plastic helmet. At other times he walks with his 11-year-old great-nephew, an orphan he never asked for, to the post office to tell the man in charge there how things should be run.

The boy—he is named Kermit but called "boy"—has the unsparing, unsentimental eye of his age. He can see that Uncle Floyd, though he may sometimes look like a picturesque cowhand from a TV serial and sometimes twirl that yellow helmet) like a bug, is really a stupid, selfish, kindly old man. When a telegram announces the death of Aunt Viola in Nebraska, old man and boy take off in the trailer, precariously hitched to an ancient Maxwell. On their way to the home place by the Platte River, they pick up two oligosyllabic polyglot young people named Stanley and Joy, and a dubious battle set in between the hippies and old Uncle Floyd for the soul of the boy.

**Bonfire and Buddha.** The Morris prose style modulates effortlessly between a deadpan Mark Twainish narrative of bizarre situations—Tom Sawyer as Easy Rider—and a grave Hawthornesque moral allegory. In the end there is a

great fire, and symbols shoot all over the big Nebraska sky. Hence the title of the book, which comes from the Buddha, courtesy of T.S. Eliot. The original Fire Sermon, preached 2,500 years ago, consigned all the physical nature of man—birth and passion and death—to flames. The one that forms the central panel of *The Waste Land* tries to burn away the sordid sterility of casual modern sex. Wright Morris' bonfire is more modest. What goes up in flames is the treasure and junk that three or four generations of stuff-backed people have squirrelled away in an empty home-stand—including various machines sup-



WRIGHT MORRIS & FRIEND  
"The real that wrenches, the quick that's wry."

plied with cranks that "would all do something if cranked, but few would crank."

At first that seems to be the nub of the sermon. The old machines don't crank, the old ways are as irrelevant as dead leaves; it is time to sweep them away and leave the world clean for a new generation like the boy Kermit who "brought so little to what he saw, he saw what was there."

As Morris presents it, however, the sermon is never as clear-cut as all that. The reader, after all, has only the nice young female hippie's word for it that the fire that consumed Aunt Viola's house also released the little boy from bondage to his ancestors. One does not need to be partisan—either way—about the Generation Gap to feel that freedom, even from this cranky past, may turn out to be worse than bondage. The boy is an amiable cipher. The hippies are more or less cheerfully conventional California creeps. Any future

they can put together on their own is likely to be pallid and pulpy at best. The true life of the book is in the grizzly old man, immersed in his gnarled and useless, but oddly beautiful past.

• Robert Wernick

Not long ago, Wright Morris totted it all up and figured he had been writing for 36 years. Seven of his score of books are still in print. If they have never quite made him a living, they have earned him much critical praise, as well as a number of grants and prizes—including the 1956 National Book Award for *The Field of Vision*. Morris' settings range as far afield as Acapulco and the Aegean. His cast of characters runs into the hundreds, and has included such creations as a mailman who kills cats with a bow and arrow and a seedy Venetian harber who sells watercolors.

But all his books are peculiarly American, and many of them—well before the term Generation Gap became a cliché—touch upon the odd, jagged relationship of age and youth. In some ways, in fact, Morris' latest novel closes that long circle of concern. His first, *My Uncle Dudley*, published in 1942, was the story of a man and a boy traveling across the country.

**Ambiguous Reserve.** Morris left the Great Plains in 1920, when he was ten. He spent his boyhood—middle class and Irish—in first in Omaha, then in "Little Sicily," a part of Chicago's gangster-haunted North Side. His mother died when he was born. His father was a railroad man given to minor business failures. Morris recalls him as a "Sherwood Anderson tragic figure—full of the froth of American dreams but hardly any of the facts."

In those prebusing days, Morris managed to get into a good Chicago high school simply by lying about his address. Eventually he worked his way to the West Coast for college (Pomona), but he dropped out to bum around Europe. "I began to invent the Midwest out of my experience," says Morris, explaining his early writing. "Then I began to elaborate on it. The slowness of time, the quality of life, the Protestant background."

His work is most often compared with Sherwood Anderson's, a judgment that reflects only on small segments of Morris' creative and intellectual effort. Morris is not displeased with the comparison, however. "There are things in Anderson which touch me deeply. Reading him, I sometimes think I was plagiarized before I was born."

He is not bitter either about his relative lack of recognition. Partly, he believes, the trouble is that the Midwestern novelist, unlike the Southern or the urban novelist, cannot count on any factional audience. "Today," he adds, "except for those writers who have a wide response, there is no longer a predictable public for the novel. The old audience is fragmented. Even though much

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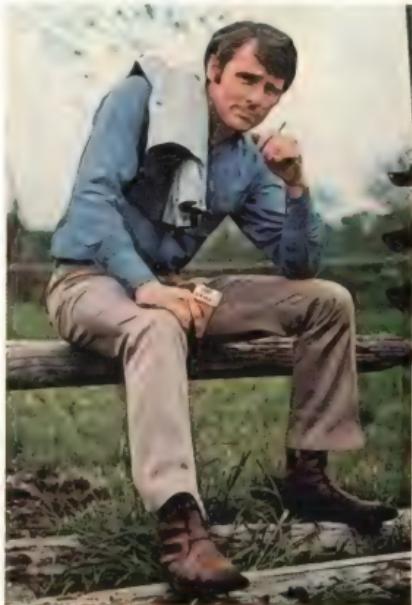
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of the current writing is brilliant, it lacks a coherent response."

Wright Morris has been married twice but has no children. At 61, he is as spare as his prose. A gentle-looking, though apparently rough-hewn character, he wears a subdued lion's mane of silver-white hair. For years he has made some of his living at part-time jobs, especially teaching. He is currently at Princeton for a year. During the past decade he has been a creative-writing instructor at troubled San Francisco State, an excellent place to get acquainted with the kind of radical young whom he treats in *Fire Sermon* with ambiguous reserve.

Morris admits he does not care for what he calls "their tribalism," but he likes the young. "I'm truly amazed," he says, "at how little the American character has changed. In my teaching I find absolutely no distinction between the young students I deal with and myself at their age. They are as idealistic, naive, soft and hard, and as appealing as—I hope—I was."

## Wilder Oates

WONDERLAND by Joyce Carol Oates. 512 pages. Vanguard, \$7.95.

Once again, it is time for this prolific lady's annual gothic revival. *Wonderland* is her tenth book in eight years—a body of work that includes the novel, *them*, winner of the National Book Award for 1969. Blind cruelty, hypersensitivity and bizarre compulsions are particularly graphic in her new book. Medical students turn flamethrowers on laboratory monkeys in the name of science. Young geniuses are made to perform like sideshow freaks. A poetic intern confesses to having brooded and eaten a human uterus.

**Heavy Freight.** Yet *Wonderland* is anything but a catalogue of cheap shocks and thrills. It is in fact the author's most ambitious novel—a long and breathless ghost hunt that attempts to confront that elusive subject, human personality. Where does it reside? More important, is it relatively stable or does it change faster than most people dare to think?

Miss Oates' vehicle for this heavy freight is Dr Jesse Vogel, a character who passes through a succession of other characters like a phantom walking through walls. Jesse Vogel resembles Jules in *them*. He possesses a sense of personal destiny that has been developed by trauma, unusual circumstance and a mysterious, glacial will power.

Vogel begins as Jesse Harte, the sole survivor of one of those Christmas family massacres in which the unemployed father shoots his wife and children and then takes his own life. He is adopted by Dr and Mrs. Pedersen of Lockport, N.Y., and assumes their name. The doctor is a Hegelian on wheels who, in his zeal for personal accomplishment, conducts dinnertime inquisitions, getting

From Calcutta...

## Report on Elizabeth Dass...



CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, INC.  
CALCUTTA, INDIA - CASEWORKER REPORT



TO: NAZARETH HOME, CALCUTTA

DATE: MARCH 17, 1969

NAME: ELIZABETH DASS

DATE OF BIRTH: APRIL 12, 1964

NATIVE PLACE: CALCUTTA

ORDER OF BIRTH: THIRD DAUGHTER

HEALTH: FRAIL, THIN, WALKS WITH DIFFICULTY, PROTEIN-DEPRIVED

CHARACTERISTICS: GENTLE, QUIET, COOPERATIVE, SPEAKS CLEARLY AND IS OF GOOD MIND. WILL BE ABLE TO LEARN ONCE HEALTH AND STRENGTH ARE RESTORED.

PARENTS/RELATIVES/CONDITION: FATHER: DECEASED.

MOTHER: MALNOURISHED, RECENT VICTIM OF SMALLPOX. WORKS IN A MATCH FACTORY.

INVESTIGATION REPORT:

ELIZABETH'S FATHER USED TO BE A STREET CLEANER, DIED FROM TYPHUS. HER MOTHER IS VERY WEAK FROM HER RECENT ILLNESS; INDEED IT IS REMARKABLE SHE IS ALIVE. SHE ALMOST NEVER WORK AVAILABLE TO THIS WOMAN IS IN A MATCH FACTORY, WHERE SHE EARN TWO RUPEES A DAY (20¢) WHEN SHE IS STRONG ENOUGH TO GET THERE AND WORK.

HOME CONDITIONS: HOUSE: ONE ROOM BUSTED (HOLES) OCCUPIED BY SEVERAL OTHER PERSONS BESIDES ELIZABETH. THE ROOM IS DIRTY AND DILAPIDATED. MOTHER, FATHER, AND ELIZABETH ARE THE ONLY PERSONS LIVING THERE. COOKING IS DONE ON THE ROAD. EATING IS DONE AT A PUBLIC TAP DOWN THE ROAD. PERSONS LIVING WITH THEM IN THIS HOUSE ARE NOT OF GOOD REPUTE, AND THE MOTHER FEARS FOR ELIZABETH.

SISTERS: MARIA DASS, DECEASED OR SMALLPOX; MARGARET DASS, ALSO DECEASED OR SMALLPOX. (ELIZABETH FORTUNATELY ENTIRELY ESCAPED CONTAGION.)

REMARKS: ELIZABETH WILL CERTAINLY BECOME ILL, PERHAPS WILL TAKE UP DRUGS, AND MAY EVEN HAVE TERRIBLE WAYS OF LIVING. IF SHE IS NOT REMOVED FROM THESE HORRIBLE CONDITIONS, HER MOTHER IS MILLING FOR HER TO GO TO NAZARETH HOME AND NEEDS SAFE FROM THE WRETCHED LIFE THEY NOW HAVE.

STRONGEST RECOMMENDATION THAT ELIZABETH DASS BE ADMITTED AT ONCE.

Elizabeth Dass was admitted to the Nazareth Home a few days after we received this report and she is doing better now. Her legs are stronger . . . she can walk and sometimes even run with the other children. She is beginning to read and can already write her name.

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JOYCE CAROL OATES  
*Chilling and unresolved.*

progress reports and dishing out praise and censure to his family.

In truth, Pedersen is a monstrous hypocrite who takes his ease with morphine. His wife, outwardly a model hausfrau, requires large doses of alcohol to get through each day. His daughter is a bloated math prodigy, compulsively fueled with candy bars. Jesse works hard to create himself in the image of the public Pedersen. But when he proves insufficiently loyal to the doctor's impossible standards, he is cast out.

**Mechanistic Particle.** Working his way through medical school, Jesse assumes his maternal grandfather's name, Vogel, and does brilliantly. He becomes an acolyte of great men and husband to the daughter of a world-famous physician. Death is no mystery to him; it is simply a cold, banal fact. Love is the great puzzle, and it keeps turning dangerous in his hands. At the height of his career, Jesse is an important Chicago neurosurgeon. Delivering a learned paper on "Retrograde Amnesia," he notes that in certain brain injuries recent memories are more easily extinguished than distant memories. "Is it a function of the normal brain," he asks, "to hold the present cheaply and to honor only the distant past?"

Vogel himself exhibits no memory in the usual sense. He seems to be an uneasy collection of disparate traits acquired from the men who have been most central in his life. He seems, indeed, to crave other people's personalities in much the way the Pedersens craved morphine, whisky and candy. Neither the author nor the reader is ever quite sure just what Vogel is—a series of conditioned reflexes linked to some sort of life force; a mechanistic particle of personalities; a maddened poseur. Only Vogel's wife suggests that her husband consists of "real units of



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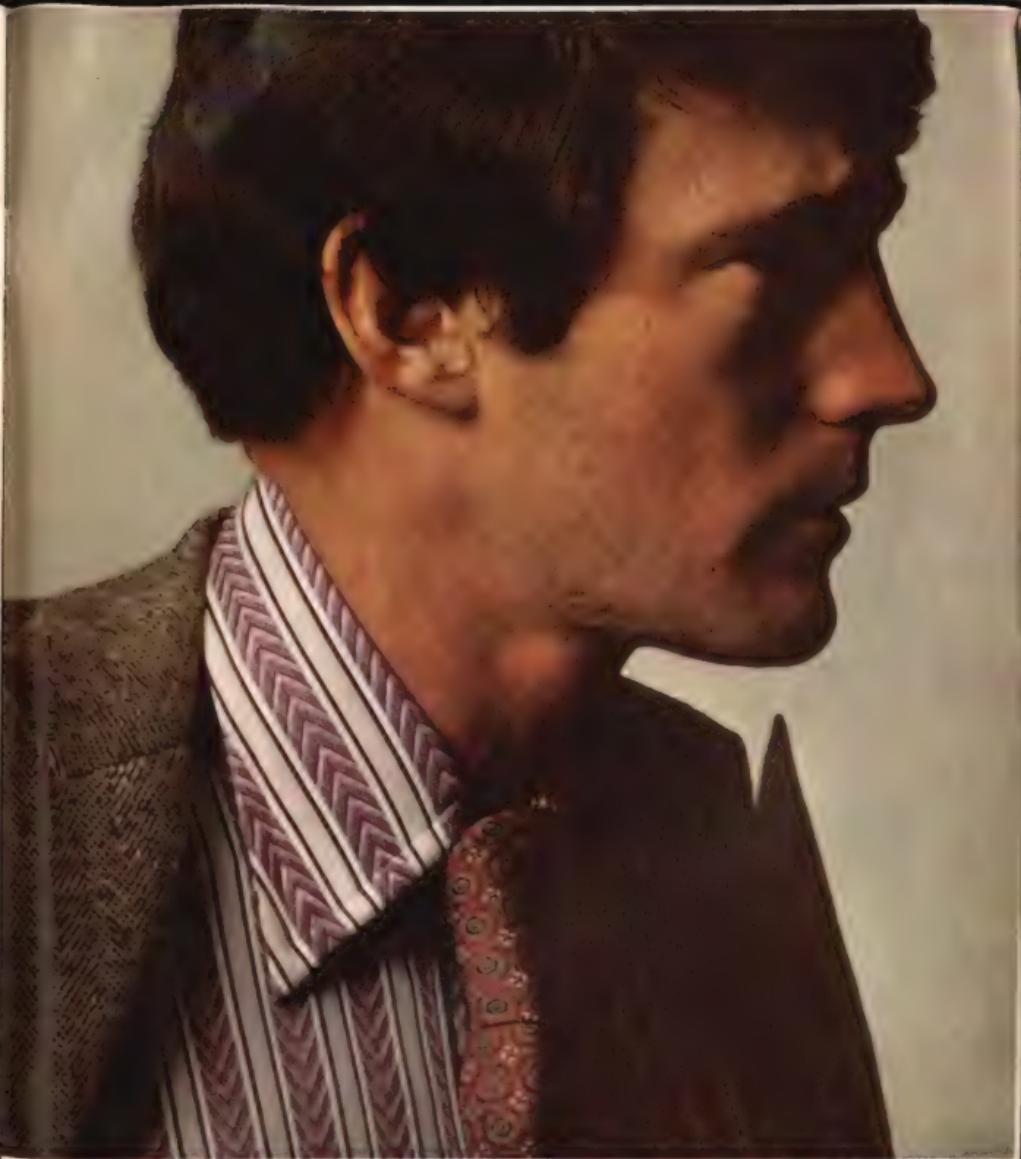
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personality, tissue or atoms or nerve cells, bits of flesh that are real and not imaginary, not insane." It is a mysterious, chilling and thoroughly unresolved idea that Miss Oates pursues with pure intuition, great narrative energy and unrelenting compassion and seriousness.

—R.Z. Sheppard

### Boy Meets Boy

MAURICE by E.M. Forster. 256 pages. Norton. \$6.95.

ALBERGO EMPEDOCLE AND OTHER WRITINGS by E.M. Forster. 272 pages. Liveright. \$7.95.

Time: 1948. Scene: The quaintly musty Cambridge University rooms where E.M. Forster lived the last 25 years of his life as an honorary fellow. The young visitor was Gore Vidal, who had just piqued the U.S. literary scene with *The City and the Pillar*, perhaps

GRANDEUR



E.M. FORSTER (CIRCA 1924)

Revealing and unadorned.

the frankest homosexual novel in the language to date. Forster allowed as how he too had once written—but suppressed—a homosexual novel that boldly depicted two boys in bed together. "And what did they do?" asked Vidal. "They . . . talked," replied Forster.

Now, a year after Forster's death and 58 years after it was written, here is the novel: *Maurice*. Forster was not quite fair to it. The boys actually kiss each other in bed, and at one heady moment a reference is made to some sort of physical "sharing." But most of the time they do indeed . . . talk. And very high-mindedly, too, invoking Plato, the nobility of male friendship and "the triviality of contact for contact's sake."

In an author's note, Forster writes that the inspiration for the novel arose from a 1913 visit to an evangelical mystic named Edward Carpenter. One of Carpenter's apostles gently touched Forster's backside, and the touch "seemed



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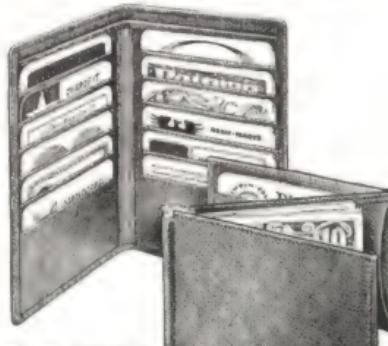
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to go straight through the small of my back into my ideas." Only those who can read that without a smile will be able to appreciate *Maurice*. The distance between the Edwardian love that dared not speak its name and the rhetoric of the Gay Liberation Front is simply too great.

If *Maurice* were first-rank Forster, it might have bridged this gap. As it is, for a book whose theme is liberation, it is a curiously willed performance. Forster for once displays a one-tract mind. He does not commit anything as crude as a case history, but he flogs the narrative along in a straight line largely unadorned by the surprises and ambiguities that enrich his other plots. Boy meets boy, boy loses boy, second boy meets girl and takes up "normal" life, first boy meets another boy and affirms homosexual values in the face of hostile society. A prim sense of authorial constraint weighs on every page. The irony is that when Forster wrote obliquely about disguised homosexual relationships, as in *The Longest Journey*, he seemed far less inhibited and made the air crackle far more with implications.

**Uncensored Trifle.** The title story of *Albergo Empedoele* shows that *Maurice* was not the only occasion on which Forster wrote openly about homosexuality. However, the story, tucked away in an obscure periodical in 1903, has been understandably overlooked. Now, along with other previously uncollected writings from 1900 to 1915, it is gathered in *Albergo*. The book—lectures, jibes at philistines, reviews, youthful sketches—is a product of the scholarly passion for snapping up a great man's every unconsidered trifle. Like *Maurice*, it will be useful to specialists, interesting to Forsterites, and dispensable to almost everyone else.

■ Christopher Porterfield

#### Best Sellers

##### FICTION

1. The Exorcist, Blatty (1 last week)
2. The Day of the Jackal, Forsyth (2)
3. The Other, Iryon (3)
4. Wheels, Hailey (4)
5. Message from Malaga, MacInnes (6)
6. The Shadow of the Lynx, Holt (6)
7. The Drifters, Michener (5)
8. Theirs Was the Kingdom, Delderfield (8)
9. The New Centurions, Wambaugh (9)
10. The Bell Jar, Plath

##### NONFICTION

1. Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee, Brown (1)
2. Any Woman Can!, Reuben (2)
3. The Sensuous Man, "M" (4)
4. The Female Eunuch, Greer (6)
5. Do You Sincerely Want to Be Rich?, Raw, Pace and Hodgeson (3)
6. The Gift Horse, Kene (8)
7. The Ro Expeditions, Heverdahl (10)
8. Without Marx or Jesus, Revel (9)
9. Beyond Freedom and Dignity, B.F. Skinner
10. America, Inc., Mintz and Cohen (5)



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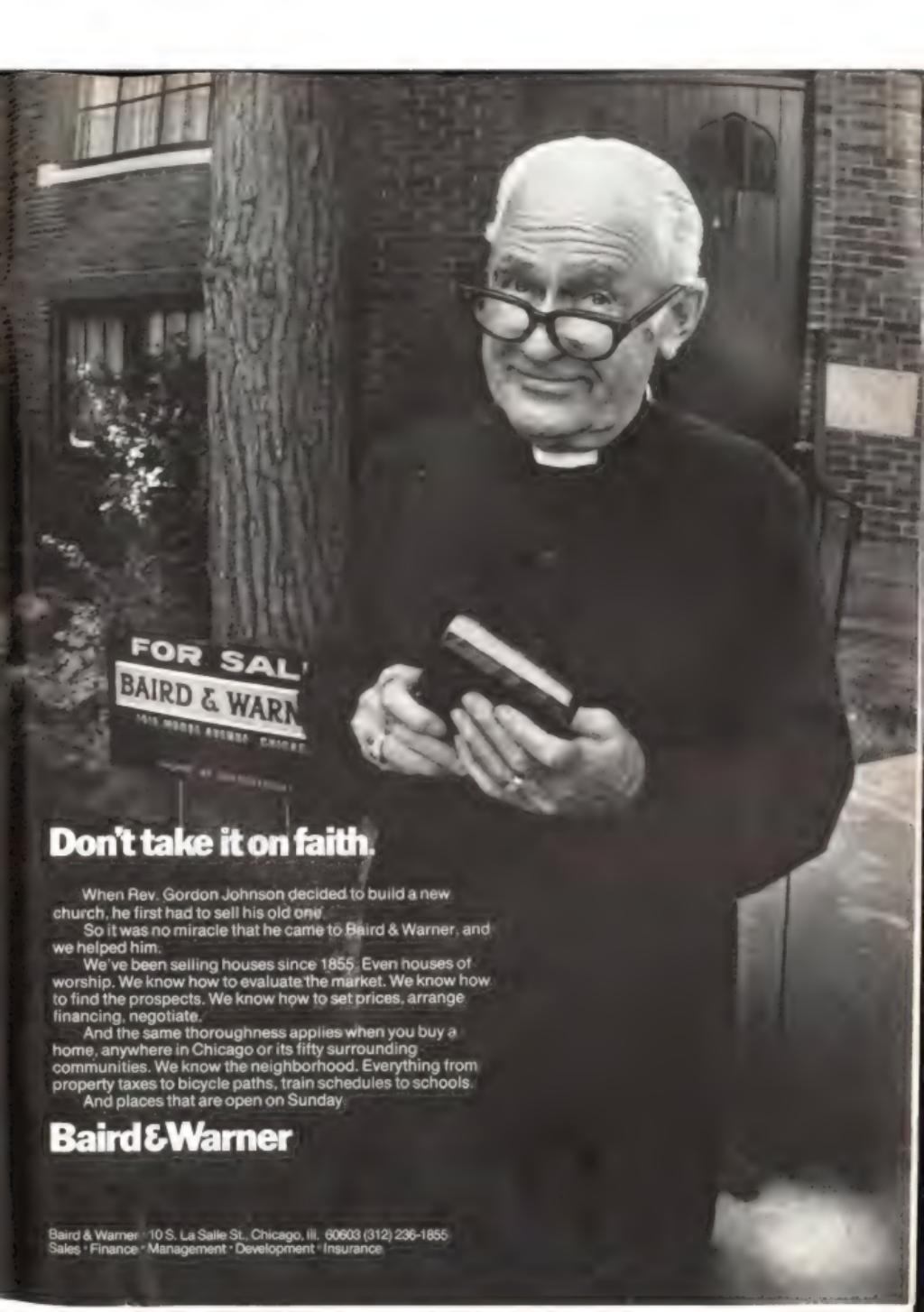
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## SPORT

### Bucs and Birds in a Breeze

The divisional playoffs for the two major league pennants were designed to be titillating curtain raisers for the World Series. Except for the triumph of the Miracle Mets in 1969, the expected has usually happened, and this year was no exception. Both playoffs were won in a breeze by the odds-on favorite Baltimore Orioles and Pittsburgh Pirates.

After dropping the opener, a 5-4 squeaker, to the San Francisco Giants, the Pirates unloaded one more-or-less secret weapon after another. Weapon No. 1 was First Baseman Bob Robertson. He had not hit a home run in the last six weeks of the regular season, but he belted three of them in the second game to power the Pirates to a 9-4 victory. The surprise in the third game was Pitcher Bob Johnson, a self-proclaimed "dud" during the season (nine wins, ten losses). Tapped as a last-minute replacement for ailing Nelson Briles, he held the Gi-

ants to four hits during the first seven innings. Then in the eighth, with two outs, two men on and the score tied 1-1, Pirate Pitching Coach Don Osborn strolled to the mound to give Johnson some sage advice: "Get this guy out." "Get your butt back on the bench, and I will," came the reply.

Johnson did, setting the stage for some more unexpected heroics by Pirate Third Baseman Richie Hebner, who had gone the last seven weeks of the season without a home run. He drilled one over the rightfield wall to cinch a 2-1 Pittsburgh victory. Lest it seem like luck, Hebner then helped the Pirates mop up the Giants 9-5 in the final game with a three-run Homer. He also provided a vital ninth-inning out by leaping into the stands to snatch a foul ball away from a covey of overeager hometown fans. San Francisco left with the dubious distinction of being the first losing team in three years of playoffs to win so much as a single game.

**F for Strategy.** After a deceptively sluggish start, Baltimore had yawned its way to the American League's Eastern Division championship. In the playoff opener against the Oakland A's, the Orioles faced their sternest test: Vida Blue, the fireballing lefty who led the A's to the championship of the American League's Western Division with a record of 24 wins and eight losses (including two victories over Baltimore). Blue was brilliant through the first six innings, but tired noticeably in the seventh. Exploding for four runs, Baltimore went on to win 5-3. After taking the second game 5-1 on the strength of First Baseman Boog Powell's two home runs, the Orioles were given the third when the A's scored an F for strategy.

In the fifth inning, with two outs, runners on second and third and the score tied 1-1, Oakland Manager Dick Williams made the questionable decision to give an intentional walk to Baltimore Catcher Elroy Hendricks. Hendricks, who had batted all of .125 against the A's during the season, was followed by Third Baseman Brooks Robinson, one of the most celebrated clutch hitters in baseball. Robinson promptly drove in two runs with a single up the middle. Final score: Baltimore 5, Oakland 3.

**Fearsome Foursome.** If the Orioles' victory celebration seemed a bit forced last week, it was only because the popping of champagne corks has become something of an October rite in Baltimore. While the bubbly flowed, Manager Earl Weaver proclaimed his Orioles "the best team ever assembled. We're only the third team to win more than 100 games three straight years, and we've won four pennants in six years—and only the Yankees have done that."

Weaver might be exaggerating a bit, but the Orioles do have strong fielding, plenty of power hitting—and the best crew of starting pitchers in either league: Right-handers Jim Palmer and Pat Dobson, Left-handers Dave McNally and Mike Cuellar, all of whom won at least 20 games this season. In equaling a record set more than half a century ago,\* the Orioles big four started all but 16 of Baltimore's 158 games. Palmer, McNally and Cuellar, in fact, each won 20 or more games last season. Acquired in a trade with the San Diego Padres this winter, Dobson found it fairly easy to catch the spirit of the program. Improving on his 14-15 record with the last-place Padres, he ended the season with a 20-8 record. Even so, the other three pitchers were so effective in their sweep of Oakland that Dobson sat out the playoffs in the bullpen.

The first game of the World Series was cut from the same cloth. Baltimore's McNally was near the top of his form, striking out nine, allowing the Pirates only three hits and no earned runs, and at one point retiring 19 batters in a row. The Pirates scored first and early, stealing three runs on one hit in the second inning after a walk, a wild pitch and two errors by the usually impeccable Baltimore defense. But in the Baltimore half of the same inning, Frank Robinson opened with a home run off Pittsburgh Starter Dock Ellis; in the third, Merv Rettenmund unloaded another, this time with two men on. A final Oriole home run by Don Buford in the fifth made it 5-3, ending the scoring—and the Pirates' hopes—for the day.

\* In 1920, four pitchers for the Chicago White Sox—Claude Williams, Edward Cicotte, Urban Shocker and Richard Kerr—won 20 or more games apiece. Williams and Cicotte were later implicated in what came to be known as the 1919 Black Sox scandal, which was not uncovered until after the 1920 Series.



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October 6, 1971

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The several Underwriters have agreed, subject to certain conditions, to purchase any unsubscribed shares and, both during and following the subscription period, may offer shares of Common Stock as set forth in the Prospectus.

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( $\$2$  par value)

Price  $\$35.50$  per share

The above shares of Common Stock are owned by certain Selling Securityholders and such shares, together with 188,733 shares of Common Stock included in the subscription offering which are being acquired by the Underwriters pursuant to the exercise of Subscription Warrants purchased from Selling Securityholders, are being offered by the several Underwriters. Shares sold for the accounts of Selling Securityholders will not be accompanied by Subscription Warrants issued in respect of such shares in the subscription offering. No part of the proceeds of the offering of 483,700 shares of Common Stock will be received by The Taylor Wine Company, Inc.

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